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HINDOOS ADORING & FEEDING SERPENTS.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA;

BRINGING THAT

HISTORY DOWN TO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1788,

WHEN THE

IMPERIAL MOGUL DYNASTY,

BY THE BLINDING AND DETHRONEMENT

OF

SHAH AULUM,

VIRTUALLY BECAME EXTINCT.

By Thomas Maurice

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PREFACE.

I HAVE at length the honour of presenting to the public the concluding pages of the History of Hindostan, brought down to the year of our Lord 1788, when the late Shah Aulum was blinded and dethroned, and the glory of the Mogul Dynasty, a race of princes who had swayed its imperial sceptre during a period of nearly 300 years, became utterly extinguished! This portion of its history will be found by no means the least interesting; and I have only to lament that it makes its appearance before the public so late, and in this supplemental form. It was impossible, consistently with other occupations, earlier to complete the arduous work, and the form is that which necessity dictated. This concluding portion being of so slender a bulk, it was thought proper to carry on the pages from the former volume, in order that, by those who please, it may be bound up with it. The work, however, is distinct and complete in itself; containing the final section of the History, from the death of Aurungzeb to the subversion of the Mogul empire.

In this latter period of the Indian history, it was necessary to have recourse to an infinite variety of works, published both in Europe and Asia, of which the most important are occasionally pointed out in the notes; but it was deemed useless to burthen

the page with multiplied references on subjects so recent. It may be proper, however, to inform the reader, that the basis of what is here submitted to his candid consideration is a work written in Persian, by an author mentioned in the letter to me from Sir W. Jones, inserted below, GHOLAM HOSSAIN KHAN, a native nobleman of Bahar, and the title of it is SEIR MUTAKHAREEN, or a View of Modern Times.*

* This letter was an answer to one which I had sent him, containing proposals for a General History of India; but upon a more limited scale than that upon which I was afterwards encouraged to undertake it.

Chrishna-Nagar, 10th October, 1790.

Dear Sir,

It is not possible for me to forget the pleasure which I have received from your conversation, and the opinion which I always entertained of your parts and industry. The arduous undertaking, of which I have just perused the plan, fully justifies my opinion; but I am so oppressed with a heavy arrear of business, that I cannot write at large on the subject of it. I will desire my agent in London to subscribe for me, and will do all I can to promote the subscription here. Such is the expense of printing at Calcutta, that it would cost thirty pounds sterling to reprint the pamphlet; but the proposals shall be reprinted, and carefully circulated. I am confident that you might learn Persian in six months, (if you have not learned it already,) so well at least as to read the original text of FERISHTA, whose work, with submission, is very *highly esteemed* by all learned Indians and Indian scholars. To an historian I must express every truth, even though friendship might induce me to conceal it; * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Let me, at the same time, exhort you not wholly to rely on *my* authority; for, though I have diligently avoided errors, yet I have made many: for instance, *Por*, a word which I found for *Porus* in the Shah-Nameh, is, I now find, pronounced *Pur*, or *Poor*, by the native Persians; and I have reason to believe, from Sanscrit authorities, that the true name of that prince was PAURAVA. If you read Persian, Mr. Boughton Rouse will, I dare say, lend you the Modern History of India, by GHOLAM HOSSAIN. Farewell, my Dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your ever faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

It must ever be a subject of deep regret to me, that I did not on the receipt of that letter resolutely sit down, and make myself master of the Persian language, at least so far (to use the President's words) as to translate Ferishta. But at the time of life at which I received that advice it is rather irksome to return to the Grammar, and Persian books, and MSS. were not quite so common as, happily for Eastern literature, they are at present. I had, also, at that period, the honour of being known to some distinguished Persian scholars, who, on my solicitation, would at any time have translated for me any difficult passages in Ferishta, or Hossain. Both those authors, however, had been already translated: sufficiently well for all the purposes of general history; and the reader will be pleased constantly to bear in mind that it is the grand *outline*, the *leading incidents* only of the Indian History which I have attempted to pourtray and record in a regular and connected manner; not with a view to inform Indian scholars, but to gratify individuals, unlearned in the lore of Brahma, to whom such a connected history was a *desideratum*. Colonel Dow's translation of the former is not destitute of elegance; but, unfortunately, that of Hossain by Mustapha, a Frenchman, converted to Mahommedism, and settled in Bengal, is in that respect greatly deficient. Facts, however, were my object; I cared little about the vehicle in which they were conveyed; and from the specimen of those parts of the original author with which Colonel Scott has obliged the public, however defective the language, and, sometimes, even the grammar of Mustapha may prove, the facts themselves, in general, seem to be narrated with fidelity.

This work of Gholam Hossain* commences at the death of

* The Persian original is in two folio volumes; the English version in three quarto volumes, price TEN GUINEAS! Calcutta printed, 1788.

Aurungzeb, with which event my second volume concluded, and carries us down through *seven* reigns of Mogul emperors, the seven last emperors; if indeed, after the calamitous visitation of Nadir Shah, the term *emperor* may with any propriety be used. The names of those emperors are Bahadur, Jehandur, Ferokhseer, Mahommed Shah, Ahmed Shah, Aulumgeer, and Shah Aulum; for Hossain seems not to have numbered among the legitimate sovereigns of Hindostan the two young and unfortunate princes, for a few months exalted to the imperial musnud, after the death of Ferokhseer, by the rebel Seyds.

The same work, also, contains what I am given to understand from very respectable authority is a tolerably impartial account of English transactions in India. That circumstance, however, was not of very material importance to this history, for though I have brought the Mogul annals down nearly to the close of the 18th century, I found myself compelled by the forcible arguments adduced in page 639 following, to decline bringing the military transactions of the English in Coromandel lower down in time than the expulsion of the French from Pondicherry in 1761; and those of Bengal, posterior to the important period of the appointment of the Company to the Duanny, in 1765. Of so extensive, various, and complicated a nature are those details it was found by the lowest computation, as there truly stated, that they could not be comprised in less than two large additional volumes, and the leading facts are already before the public in a variety of very esteemed publications, for the most part composed by the Company's civil or military officers on the spot.

After all I must be allowed to observe, that, however important these events of a century or two back may appear, and are in fact to us, as Britons, they are still but of inferior

moment, of subordinate interest, when compared with the great line and majestic march of its genuine history, which is principally concerned, in recording the struggles for empire, through a series of ages of the two great powers, HINDOO and MAHOMMEDAN. We have seen and traced those mighty struggles from the first invasion of India, by the generals of the Caliph Valid in the eighth century, nearly three hundred years before Ferishta's history of the Gaznavide sovereigns commences, and have brought them regularly down to the last dreadful battle of Paniput, illumining and expanding, as we proceeded, the narration of Ferishta, by the information derived from Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Al Makin, Mirkhond, and the native historians of Gengis, of Timur, of Nadir Shah, and Abdallah.

The more ancient of these valuable Persian and Arabian authors had already been presented to the public, with elegant Latin versions, by Pocock, Erpenius, Reiske, Gagnier, and other learned orientalists of the last century; were procured by me with much difficulty; at great expense; and perused with that attention, which was necessary to prepare me to write on the subject of an Asiatic history. For India, in fact, constitutes so large a portion of Asia, and has been for so many ages the object of plunder to the most celebrated warriors of the East, that its history on the large scale, as well ancient as modern, naturally embraces a very considerable proportion of that of the continent on which it stands. The adventurous author therefore, who engages in that history, must be provided with materials proportionate to the magnitude and extent of his subject.

Whoever will please to consult my list of books expressly collected for the purpose, and inserted in the first Volume of Indian Antiquities, (edited so far back as 1792) will find these

authors, besides an infinity of others scarcely less rare or costly, with the dates of their respective editions, as here enumerated.

Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani, Auctore J. S. Bayer,	Petropoli, 1738.
Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici, Arab. et Lat. 5 tom.	Hafniæ, 1789.
Abulfaragii Hist. Dynast. Arab. et Lat. Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1663.
Abulfaragii Specimen Hist. Arab. Opera Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1659.
Al Makin's Hist. Saracenica, Studio Erpenii, quarto,	Lugd. Bat. 1625.
Ulug Beg's Epochæ Celebriores et Chorasmia,	Oxford, 1650.
Abulgazi Bahadur Khan's Hist. Genealog. des Tartars, octavo,	Leyden, 1726.
Maffeii Historia Indica, folio,	Amsterdam, 1589.
Abulfedæ Vita Mohammedis, Studio Johannis Gagnier, folio,	Oxon. 1723.
Historia Priorum Regum Persarum, Mirkhond.	Viennæ, 1782.
Sherefeddin's Life of Timur Bec, by M. Petit le Croix, 2 vols. octavo,	Lond. 1723.
M. Petit le Croix Hist. of Gengis Khan, octavo,	Lond. 1722.
Mirkhond's History of Persia, octavo,	Lond. 1715.
Dr. White's Institutes of Timur, Persian and English, quarto,	Oxon. 1783.
Ahmed Arabsaidæ (Ahmed Arabshah) Vitæ, et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, Hist. Arabicè et Latinè, Opera S. N. Manger, 3 vols. quarto,	Leovardiæ, 1767

A short account of each of these works, and their authors, is given in the prefatory chapter of the second book of this history,* under date A.D. 600, previously to my commencing the history of the Mahommedan invasions.

It is not from ostentation that I have ventured to mention these facts, and appealed to these early and incontrovertible testimonies of my zeal and diligence, but to vindicate myself from the charge brought against me by certain Reviewers, of having undertaken to write a history without any knowledge of the subject. Of however little value my continued labours, at once injurious to my health, and ruinous to my circumstances, may appear in certain quarters, my exertions at this period of the history so forcibly struck Dr. White, the Arabick professor

* See Modern History, Vol. I. p. 168.

at Oxford, that in a letter addressed to me soon after the publication of my first Volume in 1804, he condescended to encourage me to proceed, in terms almost too flattering to be repeated. His very friendly letter concluded with these words, " Your Modern History of Hindostan is, in my opinion, a performance of unrivalled merit. It is at once, most classically elegant, most truly judicious, and most highly interesting."

Thus much for Mussulman and other writers, from the age of Mahommed downwards. I agree in opinion with the Reviewers, above alluded to, that the Modern History of India properly begins at the period of their earliest invasion of that country, and the term Classical History of India, which I had applied to the period terminating with the death of Alexander, should have been continued down to the birth of the Arabian impostor. In this division of the work I stand before a higher tribunal than the Judicature of Bengal, and with confidence, because I am not conscious of having neglected to take the advantage of any light that could be thrown on the history of India by classical writers from Herodotus to Cosmas, or of having omitted to compare their accounts with whatever has been yet published from Sanscrit sources of information in Europe. The cause of this portion of the work appearing of such limited extent and inferior importance, notwithstanding it embraces several centuries, arises from this circumstance, that, in composing it, I adhered closely to *historical fact*, although, by intermingling, as has usually been done by preceding authors on India, elaborate descriptions of the arts, the sciences, the civil and religions institutions of the Indians, with the substance of the history, I might have swelled this particular portion of the work to an immense bulk. I had, however, previously in

a manner exhausted that subject, and thrown the whole mass of information derived from that source into the volumes of Indian Antiquities. This was done at a very early period of the undertaking by the advice of a Person of very distinguished rank in life and literature, and whose own Lectures on Modern History, which I attended at Oxford, would, if published, reflect upon him the highest honour. It was the decided opinion of this accomplished judge of historical composition, that I should avoid incumbering the page with matter not immediately relevant to the history; but clear my way by throwing every thing of that kind, arranged under their proper heads, into previous *dissertations*, which readers might consult at their pleasure. "If you do not this," added he, "you may depend upon it your book will lose half its interest, and will probably be condemned to moulder on the shelves of your bookseller." This advice gave birth in my mind to the first idea of composing the Indian Antiquities, and if the public have been at all gratified by that publication, they are indebted for that gratification to the present Right Honourable and learned Judge of the Admiralty Court. This advice was obligingly accompanied by a list of subscribers to the intended publication of the very first rank in literature, among whom were Mr. Windham and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Shortly after, the gentleman mentioned in Sir William Jones's letter, Mr. Boughton Rouse, brought me another splendid list of names, with the great Edmund Burke at their head, with the addition of some friendly hints from Mr. Burke, upon which I also improved.*

* Mr. Burke, among other things, objected to the title of my book, which at first ran thus, "The History of Hindostan, Sanscreet and Classical, FROM THE BIRTH OF BRAHMA." I explained my meaning to him afterwards in a personal con-

On this interesting subject of the highly flattering encouragement, afforded to this work at its commencement, as I am not likely very soon to appear again as an historian, before the public, I must beg permission to be a little more diffuse.

The anarchical and turbulent times in which these volumes successively made their appearance must ever be remembered, *nor is the danger perhaps yet entirely over.* They were deemed important towards checking the progress of Gallic scepticism, which had erected on the debateable ground of India, and its presumed unfathomable antiquity, its loftiest standard of defiance; and had they not been checked, that ambitious nation would, by this time, probably have planted standards there of a more permanent, they could not of a more fatal, kind. Animated by the genuine spirit of patriotism, several of the greatest and best men of the age stood forward to befriend my infant undertaking. Among these it would be the basest ingratitude to omit mentioning a *third* list, which rapidly followed, the spontaneous generosity of the honourable and ever to be lamented Mr. Elliot, brother-in-law of Mr. Pitt, with the respected name of that great statesman, Mr. Thelluson, Mr. Thornton, and some others; a *fourth*, still more numerous, of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons; the munificent goodness of Earls Spencer, Carysfort, and several other noblemen; and the continued friendly offices of the Editors of the British Critic. Nor will the pride of virtuous and gratified ambition permit me to be silent in regard to the

ference, that the Hindoos had various systems of the cosmogony, but that the present was the "Lotos Creation," that is to say, our system commenced at the epoch when Brahma burst from the egg recumbent upon the Lotos that floated on the primordial waters. He was still dissatisfied, and said, "it would appear *affected*." I instantly, therefore, expunged the obnoxious words.

honourable public testimonies in my favour of the learned, but still unknown author of the Pursuits of Literature; of that excellent scholar and prelate the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his Elements of Christian Theology; and that still more substantial proof of desert, the LETTER sent by the late venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, and that most eminent and able judge of classical excellence, the late Earl of Rosslyn, to the East India Directors, in the most express terms recommending my undertaking to the patronage of the Court.

As this was the only instance ever known of such an application in favour of an individual to a great Commercial Company by two such distinguished characters, the one at the head of the Church, and the other of the Law of this country, my hopes were naturally raised to a high pitch; and though by the result not fully gratified, they were not wholly disappointed! I beg respectfully to state, that I still encourage hopes, from the justice and liberality of the Company, that the Letter in question, which still stands on their books, may finally obtain for my advancing years, some more ample remuneration than it was thought proper at that time to grant, (200*l.*) towards the completion of a work which, with the maps and engravings that illustrate it, has cost many thousands. Nearly twenty years of the best portion of life have been consumed in the composition of this work, and nearly the whole of a not very extensive income has been devoted to its completion, during a series of years in which, unfortunately for me, all the materials of printing have gradually advanced to treble their value at the period of its commencement.

But retrospects are unavailing; it is now completed, and on the comprehensive plan upon which I proposed to execute it, consisting of, 1. THE ANCIENT INDIA, in two volumes, quarto,

with eighteen illustrative engravings. 2. The Modern India, also in two quarto volumes, together with this Supplement, and a coloured map of India, by Arrowsmith, according to its latest divisions. And lastly, though first published, The Indian Antiquities, in seven volumes, octavo, with thirty engravings on quarto plates. This latter work, I must again observe, is an essential appendage to the Ancient India; the contents of those volumes must be considered as illustrations of that work,* and it ought properly to have appeared in a quarto form, to bind up uniformly with the volumes with which they are so inseparably connected.

That a work of this magnitude and extent, and in its early portions so abstruse and intricate, should have been accomplished by an individual, not only unassisted, but pertinaciously obstructed, amidst increasing difficulty and unmerited obloquy, will, by all considerate persons, be thought of as it deserves. However neglected by the present age, when party rage and jealous competition shall be extinguished in the grave, posterity will do justice to my page; and to posterity I appeal with the confidence of a man who has, at least *endeavoured* to merit the applause of his country.

* It may be agreeable to some of the encouragers of this work, to know that an effort of that kind was, some time ago, made; but from the enormous expence attending it, the project was relinquished, when one large volume, elegantly printed by Bulmer, and comprehending nearly three of the octavo volumes, was completed. The whole now remains in that imperfect state, in Mr. Faulder's possession.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA.

Retrospective moral View of Events in the preceding Reign.—Dreadful Battle between the Sultans Mauzim and Azem.—Mauzim victorious, Azem killed—the former ascends the Throne by the name of BAHADUR SHAH.—*The new Emperor marches into Deccan, where his younger Brother, Sultan* KAMBUKSH, *had taken up arms to oppose him.—A Battle ensues, and* KAMBUKSH *is slain.—Origin and History of the* SEIKS.—*The Emperor marches against them; is taken suddenly ill, and dies after a short Reign of six years.—Succeeded by* JEHANDER SHAH, *a weak effeminate Prince, deposed by the* SEYDS.—FURRUKSEER, *who granted their* FIRMAUN *to the English East India Company, deposed and murdered by the same Omrahs.—*RAFFEIH AL DIRJAT *shares the same melancholy Fate.—*RAFFEIH AL DOWLAT, *an Infant, escapes a violent, by a natural, Death.—*MAHOMMED SHAH *vanquishes the* SEYDS, *and restores the imperial Authority.*

THE very singular fact of Aurungzeb having been treated at various periods of his reign with the same marked disobedience as a father, and the same disloyalty, as a sovereign, by four out of his five sons, which Shah Jehan had experienced from himself, is a circumstance that exhibits a memorable proof of the just dispensations of divine Providence. Mahommed, engaged in open rebellion, perished at Gualior. Mauzim, repeatedly im-

plicated in rebellious projects, was imprisoned for six years in Deccan, and had just obtained his liberty when Gemelli visited Aurungzeb's camp in 1695. Fear probably dictated his being sent to Cabul, and kept at as great a distance as possible from the Presence. Akber, the beloved Akber, still more keenly wounded the feelings of his father, by joining the forces of Sambajee, his bitterest enemy! He fled to Ispahan and *died* there in the year preceding the death of his father.* Azem had plotted with his relative the King of Visiapore, previous to the final conquest of that kingdom; but being restored to favour, had ever after maintained unshaken loyalty and affection. Kambuksh, too, the youngest, was deeply infected with the ambition of his brothers, but being yet young, had committed no open act of disloyalty against his father. The preceding pages display to us a dreadful picture of crimes and consequent punishment; and hold up an awful lesson to filial ingratitude and disobedience.

The same indomitable spirit of ambition that led his father to spurn at a divided empire, induced Sultan Azem immediately to commence his march for Agra and Delhi, where he hoped to seize the imperial treasures; nor would he listen to the very generous overtures made him by his elder brother towards an accommodation. A long and severe imprisonment had taught the latter, during his father's life time, the useful doctrine of disguising his sentiments; and one of his own nobles, Eradut Khan, declares it to have been universally reported, under the sanction of the prince himself, that rather than harass the kingdom by new contentions for imperial honours, he would retire into Persia. The jealous Emperor's death, having freed him from restraint, Mauzim also, without delay began his march from Cabul for Delhi and Agra; and by the strenuous exertions

* This fact is asserted in Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 122.

of his wise and faithful minister, Monauim Khan, in whose praises our author is lavish, every means of expeditious advance being rapidly prepared, the treasures both of Delhi and Agra, that had been collecting since the time of Akber, were fortunately secured to him who, as the elder son, seemed to have the greatest claim to them, "treasures that might enable him to support, if he chose, all the troops to be levied in the empire."*

The rival armies met at the river Chambul, which Mauzim had placed in his rear, and seldom in India have two such mighty hosts appeared in arms against each other. That of Mauzim consisted of 170,000 horse and 150,000 foot, 3000 elephants, and 3000 pieces of cannon ;† and that of Azem was little inferior ; but it will be recollected that the two princes shared between them the collective forces of the empire, and with the followers and attendants their armies together must have amounted to a million. The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obstinacy equal to the importance of the contest. In fact, the princes fought for the sovereignty of an empire, at that time in extent and wealth unrivalled ; their attendants for their ALL. Most of the great Omrahs who had served under Aurungzeb displayed their standards in the line of Mahommed Azem, and the greater part of them fell, together with the two elder sons of Azem. Nevertheless, Azem stood his ground until he was left with only 6000 horse, which were surrounded by ten times the number, when, to avoid the disaster of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he stabbed himself to the

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 42.

† These numbers may appear improbable, but they are stated to have been of this vast amount both by Orme and Fraser. (Orme's Fragments, p. 307. Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 39.) That of the elephants is least credible, as scarcely half of the number ever appeared at one time in the field.

heart with his poniard. No victory could be more decisive, and Mauzim immediately mounted the throne, and was proclaimed Emperor by the assumed name of BAHADUR SHAH, which he had taken before he left Cabul.

Vengeance, however, still cried from the ground on account of the accumulated murders of Aurungzeb, and another victim was yet demanded from his family to satisfy omnipotent justice. It has been already stated, that a few days before his death he had dispatched Kambuksh " his son, nearest to his heart," being his youngest, and by his favourite Circassian wife, to Visiapore, and his will enjoins that he shall not be molested, if he rested content with that Soubah and Golconda ; a third portion certainly, and not the least abundant in riches, of his immense empire. Kambuksh, however, inflamed with even more ardour than his brother Azem for independence, immediately on his arrival at his government, ordered himself to be proclaimed Emperor in the *Kootba*, or public prayers, and coins to be struck in his own name, the decided token of royal distinction. Hurried away by ambition and all the headstrong passions of youth, his conduct is represented by our historian as almost bordering on insanity; on the slightest suspicion devoting to tortures and even to death the most beautiful women of his haram, his most tried friends, and his most faithful servants.* Notwithstanding this intemperate conduct of Kambuksh, as he was the beloved son of Aurungzeb, and invested by that prince himself with the southern governments, the most powerful nobles of Deccan, whether Mussulmans or Hindoos, at first enlisted under his banners ; but his perseverance in these atrocious measures soon lost him their support, and the greater part of them retired in disgust to their own districts, where they fortified themselves in the best manner

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 31.

they were able till this contest for the throne should be decided.

Taking advantage of the distracted state of public affairs about this time, also, many of the Rajapouts began to manifest symptoms of disaffection. Indignation at the unrelenting severity with which both their religion and themselves had been treated by Aurungzeb still burned in their bosoms, and they panted to retaliate on the race of Timur the series of injuries under which they had groaned for so many ages. Powerfully impelled by these circumstances, the new Emperor commenced his march for Deccan at the head of an army superior in number by 100,000 men to that which had accompanied his father thither; all the princes of the empire and a vast concourse of nobility attending in his train. Kambuksh had left Visiapore, and encamped at Hyderabad, and Bahadur, anxious to reclaim his brother without having recourse to arms would advance no farther than Aurungabad, whence he wrote to him letters, couched in the most importunate and affectionate terms, requesting that, if possible, their differences might be adjusted, without the shedding of any more fraternal blood. In addition to the two provinces he offered to confer upon him the Nizamut of the Deccan, with unlimited authority in the south, the revenues of all which united, he observed, were equal to half of the revenues of the empire itself. He concluded by declaring that if he assented to this generous proposal he would, after paying a visit to the hallowed tomb of their father, return with all his forces to Hindostan.*

Callous to all the kindness, and deaf to all the remonstrances of his brother, Kambuksh continued his preparations for war with increased activity and vigonr. Independently of the natural

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 34.

impetuosity of his disposition, which disposed him for war rather than peace, he was induced by some religious impostors who had found their way into his court, to believe that destiny had decreed him the empire; and that, in urging his claims, though millions opposed him in battle, he would be invincible. His enthusiastic confidence in the venal predictions of these hypocritical fakeers urged him on to the field, and though deserted by all the Omrahs of ancient family and military renown, who were disgusted with his folly, his tyranny, and his insane reveries, the rash prince, with scarcely twenty thousand men, resolved to risque a general engagement, opposed to an army of ten times that amount. Bahadur, finding every effort towards reconciliation ineffectual, had now advanced within twelve coss of Hyderabad, but still anxious to avoid coming to extremities, employed his faithful Vizier Monauim Khan, by large bribes, and the assurance of the Emperor's forgiveness and favour, to detach from him the few chiefs who yet lingered in his train. His principal generals, Rustum Dill Khan, Syef Khan, and even his foster-brother, Meer Mulling, had resolved to come over, and embrace the protection thus offered; but Kambuksh having gained intelligence of their intended flight, had them all seized and put to death on the same day and hour, and confiscated their effects. Scarcely ten thousand troops now remained with him, and those of the worst Deccan horse, mutinous for pay, and more zealous to plunder their master, than attack the enemy: at the head of this rabble he marched out of Hyderabad, and encamped on a plain three coss from it, in sight of the imperial army.

With difficulty the amiable Emperor restrained his myriads from that assault which must in an instant have overwhelmed his unfortunate brother; but Zoolfeccar, who had not been used to this kind of warfare, and who had long cherished an enmity

against the misguided prince, determined to put an end to it by surrounding and seizing him. With these intentions, but without imparting them to the Emperor, he asked and obtained permission to reconnoitre the enemy, and took care to have with him a detachment sufficiently strong to effect his purpose without the risque of a battle. Kambuksh, however, on the approach of this force, although treble the amount of that under his command, immediately prepared for action, but was almost instantly deserted by his cowardly bands, who took to flight in every direction. A few personal attendants alone remained with the infatuated prince, and from the centre of these, seated on his elephant, with his bow and arrows he dealt destruction on the surrounding foe. Irritated by his obstinate and frantic defence, the assailants discharged several arrows at him, till at length he sunk down on his seat through loss of blood, was taken prisoner, and carried to the imperial tents, where, pale and bleeding, he was placed on a bed adjoining the royal apartments. An affecting scene now took place. The Emperor with benignity and compassion in his looks, and attended by his sons, entered and endeavoured to soothe and console him by every expression of affectionate concern. He remained for a long time sullen, and silent; and though the physicians and surgeons of the household attended, he obstinately refused to have his wounds dressed, though earnestly solicited both by his majesty and his sons. They were mortal, however, and no aid could have availed him. To a variety of questions, put to him with much tender solicitude by his nephews, he returned answers neither kind, nor conciliating. He seemed to think their presence and their queries an intrusion on his dying moments. At length, turning to the Emperor, he said, " there are in a casket upon my elephant some valuable jewels of our

father and my own, of which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this, he grew faint, and languished in silence till nine at night, when he expired without a groan.

Thus perished the youngest and favourite son of Aurungzeb, the victim of that ambition, and probably also of that *superstition*, which he inherited from his father. Aurungzeb in the letter to him before cited evidently alludes to his headstrong turbulent disposition, which he in vain endeavoured to restrain. In other respects he is said to have been a very accomplished prince. He had an excellent memory, was familiar with the authors, and elegantly wrote the dialects, of Asia. But his passions at times were so boisterous as to disorder his understanding, and he fell a victim to their ungovernable fury.

Having thus successfully concluded the war with his brother, and having paid his devoirs at the tomb of Aurungzeb, at Hyderabad, Bahadur resolved to turn his arms against the Rajapouts, who from the long absence of the imperial troops were in a state bordering on rebellion. The two chiefs of that unconquerable nation had recently strengthened their alliance by an intermarriage ; the Rajah Jey Sing having espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing ; and every circumstance seemed to forebode the renewal of those hostilities that devastated India in the reign of Aurungzeb. Just on the eve of this dreadful flame breaking out circumstances arose that imperiously demanded the Emperor's presence in a very distant quarter of the empire, and it became necessary to postpone for a time the vengeance about to be poured on the determined enemies of the house of Timur. Intelligence about this time arrived that the SEIKS had risen in the north in great force, and were ravaging without controul the whole country from the Indus to the Jumna. Of this SECT and NATION, which about this period first began to be

formidable, the following summary account from an authentic source may be acceptable to the reader.

The SEIKS are a tribe of Hindoos, who profess to worship one Invisible Being, omnipotent, omnipresent, and whom they consider as degraded by any similitude or images. In truth, both in theory and practice, they are pure theists. They are descended from one NANEEK of the Kattry or war-cast, who flourished in the province of Lahore towards the close of the 15th century, and who from his eminent piety, and superior talents, was reverenced as a sort of prophet among them. Their GOOROOS, or chiefs, of which they enumerate a long succession, seem also to have been invested with a character both sacred and military, as was anciently the case among many eastern people; at once priests and soldiers. Like the present Hindoos, they are perfectly tolerant in matters of faith; though unlike them the Seiks admit of proselytes, which is doubtless one reason of their rapid increase as a people; since proselytes are made without any other ceremony than an oath, binding them to civil and religious obedience. They abhor, however, the multiplicity of idols displayed in their temples, even though attempted to be apologized for under the mild denomination *of the attributes of the deity personified.* The sacred volumes that contain their theological doctrines are written partly in Sanscreet, and partly in a character invented by Naneek himself.*

For a long period, equally inoffensive in their tenets and blameless in their manners, they remained undisturbed by the Mahommedan governors of Lahore and Multan, where they principally abounded; but their numbers vastly increasing, especially during the latter period of the reign of Aurungzeb, and

* See Mr. Wilkins's account of the SEIKS in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 289. Calcutta edition.

with their *numbers* their *power*, during the long absence in Deccan of the imperial army; in short, a religious sect becoming gradually converted into a nation of warriors, hardy from their climate, mounted on fleet horses, and panting for independence, it was absolutely necessary to adopt the most instantaneous and vigorous measures for their reduction. Under their present Gooroo or chief, they had extended their ravages on both banks of the Jumna, and the inhabitants of Delhi itself were struck with consternation. Filled with implacable hatred against the Mahommedans, and with detestation of their religious principles, they every where insulted and plundered them; levelling their mosques, and burning their palaces. The governor of Sirhind at the head of the provincial troops had marched against the marauders, but had been defeated and killed. Their wide devastations and cruel excesses, the result of both political and religious rancour, were only to be checked by the Emperor in person, and therefore, for the present, compromising matters in the best manner possible with the Rajapout chiefs, and having conferred on Zoolfeccar the vice-royalty of Deccan, who governed it by deputy, he hastened northward with all his forces. Passing by Agra and Delhi, without entering either of those capitals, he in a short time arrived at Sirhind, where the rebels were collected in great force. On the approach, however, of the imperial army they retired to Daber, the original residence of their chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Daber is situated on the summit of a rocky mountain, and round it, at different heights, the greatest part of the rebel army had encamped, secure as they thought amidst its rugged precipices and frightful cavities that seemed to forbid the approach of an enemy. The Emperor stationed his army around the foot of the mountain, and resolved to lie inactive for some

time before the enemy, in the hope of rendering them confident, and tempting them to risque an engagement. The ardour of the Mogul troops frustrated his intention, for the Vizier having obtained permission with a considerable detachment to reconnoitre the enemy's position, although positively forbidden to make an assault, yet being extremely galled by the fire from the cannon of the fort, as well as by the discharge of rockets and musquetry, both general and soldiers became to the last degree irritated, rushed on impetuously to the attack, clambered up the most difficult heights, penetrated the deepest defiles, and drove the astonished enemy before them with the greatest rapidity under the very walls of the fort. Here, firmly concentrated, the rebel bands made a desperate resistance, and night coming on only suspended, but did not terminate, the contest. It was renewed with the earliest dawn ; and the remainder of the army having now, by exertions equally laborious, joined their valiant comrades, a dreadful and general slaughter commenced, no mercy being shewn to wretches who had evinced none. They were cut off to a man. The fort was afterwards taken by storm, and all within it also put to death ; but the wily Gooroo, who knew the intricate windings of the hills among which Daber is situated, disguised like a Yogee, had made his escape in the night, and fled by a secret path to the snowy mountains. The Vizier who had vowed to bring him dead or alive, to the Emperor, as some atonement for his disobedience of orders, was so mortified by the disappointment as well as by the cold reception of his sovereign, after deeds of valour that deserved so warm an one, that he shortly after fell ill, and is supposed to have died of a broken heart.*

The terrible example thus made of so large a portion of their

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

nation seems not to have had the effect of reducing the Seiks to entire obedience, since, though the resolution of Bahadar to extirpate the Rajapouts remained still unshaken, and he had not yet visited either of his capitals Agra or Delhi, we find him residing at Lahore, most probably to overawe them, and settle the affairs of the northern provinces, in general, till the time of his death, which took place suddenly, and not without suspicion of poison, in 1712. From the vigour with which his reign commenced, from his acknowledged abilities, and the general excellence of his character, if that reign had been prolonged, Bahadur would probably have fixed the empire upon a solid basis, and rendered its glory permanent; but now a dreadful scene of destruction is to take place, and royal blood to flow in still deeper currents. Imperial fratricide, blood-stained Fakeer! look up from thy tomb of affected humility, and view the long train of disasters which thy crimes have entailed on thy miserable descendants!

Bahadur left four sons, fired with all the ambition of their family, to contest the vacant throne; their names and characters are thus designated by their historian, Eradut Khan. Jehaundar Shah, the eldest, was a weak man, the votary of pleasure, who gave himself no concern about state affairs. Azem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners, and of much experience. He had been a favourite of Aurungzeb, who in his deep political craft had opposed him to his father, Shah Aulum, and had given him the rich governments of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, where he had amassed immense wealth, and whence he had now arrived at the head of a formidable army to dispute the empire with his three brothers, leagued against him. Raffeih Ooshawn, the companion and favourite of his father, was a man of abilities, but greatly addicted to pleasure. He paid no attention

to public affairs nor even to those of his own household. Jehaun Shah, the youngest, was a consummate statesman, on whom, both before and after his father's accession, a considerable share of the public business had devolved, and seemed most worthy to wield the imperial sceptre.* Such were the personages who were about to enter on the field of sanguinary warfare for the crown of Hindostan. The account of Eradut Khan, who was an eye-witness, is exceedingly curious; according to him, the contest commenced in the following manner.

While Bahadur lay expiring, the princes and ladies of the court made continual lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Jehaundar and Azem Ooshawn were sitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Jehaundar, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic; he started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, who were astonished at his strange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with the utmost possible speed. His report of his intended assassination, though none was meant, by Azem, roused and united all his brothers in arms. They hastened to the field, determined to conquer, or perish. In fact, the riches and power of Azem Ooshawn had long raised against him the enmity and jealousy of his brethren, who had, for their general safety, formed a compact to support each other. The ameer al omra had formerly been disgusted with some conduct of Azem Ooshawn,

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 45.

from which time he had courted alternately Raffeh and Jehaun Shah. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in effecting the destruction of Azem Ooshawn, and make an equal division of the empire and royal treasures among them.*

This ameer al omrah was Zoolfecar Khan, whom we have seen fighting under the banners of his protector Aurungzeb, leading his armies to victory, and now his grand-children to slaughter in furious contest, which, instead of inflaming, he ought to have repressed; a contest in which *three* out of the *four* are doomed to perish. The particulars are given at length in Eradut Khan, but are too long to be detailed here: they are summarily as follows. Azem Ooshawn being in the possession of the imperial treasures, as well as those which he had brought from Bengal, hoped to secure the throne by bribery. Instead, therefore, of coming to immediate action with his brothers, he intrenched himself in his camp, and suffered them at the outset by his inaction to gain very important advantages over him. He is at length compelled to engage them, is deserted by his troops, and sinks down covered with wounds, upon his elephant, in which situation the elephant, frantic from the anguish of its own wounds, hurries him off the field, and both are supposed to have perished in the rapid stream of the Rauvi, which washes Lahore. Jehaun Shah, by whose skill and bravery, principally, aided by Zoolfecar, the battle was gained, now calls upon Zoolfecar to perform his plighted promise of equitably dividing the empire and the treasures, declaring himself ready to submit to his decision. Faithless to that promise, Zoolfecar had privately resolved to seat Jehaundar on the throne without a rival, "as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrolled power." With this view, he, on various pretences, delays making a division of the treasure, and at length openly avows his intentions in favour of Jehaundar. A second battle ensues, in which Jehaun Shah is killed by a musket shot while fighting against a host of foes headed by the traitor Zoolfecar. His son, a prince finely accomplished, who sat behind him on the same elephant, descended and fought with his scymeter, till he could stand no longer, and then sunk down, weltering in his blood!

There now remained no other rivals for the empire than Jehaundar, and Raffeh Ooshawn. As Zoolfecar, during the life of the late Emperor, had been under the greatest obligations to the latter, he made no doubt of himself being the decided object of his choice for the vacant throne. Zoolfecar, however, remained firm to the interest of Jehaundar; a third battle was fought, in which Raffeh Ooshawn met in the field with the same shameful desertion and ingratitude, which had been fatal to his brothers, and he died with their lion-like courage. "The unhappy prince," says our historian, "surrounded by his enemies on all sides, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the SABRE OF GLORY FROM THE SCABBARD OF HONOUR, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, fighting singly against so many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. Jehaundar Shah now sounded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in

the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the imperial family. The mausolea which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shah."*

JEHAUNDAR SHAH.

The perfidious Zoolfecar having now exalted his imperial puppet beyond the power of a rival, assumed the chief administration of affairs, and acted in the most cruel and tyrannical manner; degrading and putting to death the ancient nobility, and plundering the opulent without mercy. Nurtured in the school of war, accustomed to deeds of daring ferocity, when so long opposed to the Mahrattas in the mountains of Gaut, and the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, combating for life and religion in the deserts of Ajmere, he brought into the cabinet all the turbulent ambition of the soldier, and ruled only by the sword. His principal aim seemed to be to heap up immense masses of wealth, not to bestow in generous munificence on the friendless and destitute, but to glut the eye, and fill the grasp of insatiable avarice; for even his sycophant dependents suffered the pressure of poverty, and though he conferred titles on many, he allowed jaghires to none. All orders and descriptions of men, the rich whom he had robbed, and the poor whom he had trampled, Hindoos and Mussulmans, alike sent up their prayers to heaven for the downfall of Zoolfecar.

With respect to Jehaundar himself, he was a disgrace to the name of monarch, and to the house of Timur. With intellects little superior to those of an ideot, indolent in his habits, and effeminate in his person; so that his treasury was kept full,

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 79.

which was artfully contrived by the extortions of Zoolfecar, and was one end of them; so that his table was supplied with the choicest dainties, and his haram well stored with Circassian women, he was indifferent to the concerns of government. "He made," as Eradut Khan indignantly exclaims, "the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtezan. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two crores of rupees, that is, two millions sterling, annually, were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her clothes and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeably to caprice, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the imperial palace. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a height, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and *the grant of a village*, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace,

and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the Emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace."*

Compared with the high and dignified deportment on the Mogul throne, of the more virtuous sovereigns of the race of Timur, how infinitely degrading was this conduct in one of that illustrious line! There can scarcely exist a doubt but that Zoolfecar, who must have despised this silly pageant of his usurped authority, only suffered him to fill that throne until he could by heaping up sufficient wealth raise an army to secure it for himself. His own conduct, however, though in a different line, was equally disgusting, and a powerful party of discontented Omrahs were acting in secret to undermine both the silly monarch and his guilty minister. At the head of this party were two nobles, brothers, of uncommon wealth and influence, called Seyd Abdollah Khan, and Seyd Hossain Khan. They had both been firmly attached to, and had faithfully served, the late Emperor, whose son, Azem Ooshawn had rewarded them, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter with the province of Bahar. On his death and the consequent troubles they had both raised, with the imperial revenues, considerable bodies of troops, as well for their own safety as that of the countries they governed: at least, such

*. Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 82.

was their pretence. Their known attachment, however, to Azem Ooshawn, and his father rendering their motives for arming suspected, Jehaundar Shah had appointed another governor to Allahabad, whom Abdollah had opposed, defeated, and driven back. One only son survived to Ooshawn, named Furrukseer, who resided in Bengal, and to him the eyes of the dissatisfied omrahs of Delhi were turned. The chiefs above-mentioned, whose resentment the court by subsequent favours had in vain endeavoured to appease, heartily joined in the projected revolution, and united their forces to raise Furrukseer to that throne which his father had lost. The standard of rebellion being thus raised in Bengal, multitudes daily flocked to it, and the prince, accompanied by the Seyds, moved towards Agra amidst the acclamations of an indignant people, who were filled with equal detestation at an ideot king, and a sanguinary minister.

At the height of his abused authority, and in the midst of his debaucheries, a report being suddenly propagated at Delhi that Furrukseer was in full march for the capital, with intent to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne, the whole court was struck with consternation. The great power and wealth of the Seyds too were well known, and firmauns containing additional grants and mighty promises were dispatched without delay, to secure their loyalty, or if engaged in the rebel cause, to detach them from it. Their choice, however, was irrevocably fixed. A body of the imperial troops being put in motion, the ameer al omrah fearing to leave the whole power in the hands of his enemies, refused to take the command of them; and at length, in the distracted councils of the moment, it was resolved to place at the head of them, Aiz ad Dien, eldest son of Jehaundar Shah, quite a youth, under the tutelage of Dowran Khan, and other officers, not much more experienced than himself. On the

army's arrival at Agra it received considerable reinforcements, but not of the most formidable description of soldiers; and the march was continued to Kidgwa, where the great battle before described between Aurungzeb and Sultan Sujah was fought. At this spot Furrukseer and the two Seyds had previously arrived with an army consisting of about 70,000 horse and foot, mostly adventurers, and hoping to benefit themselves by a revolution.

Abdollah Khan, accompanied by some other officers, going out early the next morning to reconnoitre the enemy's position, was attacked by a party of royalists, which brought on a partial action, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which lasted till evening; and at midnight the young prince and his general, Dowran, magnanimously fled in a woman's covered pallankin, nor stopped till they arrived at Agra. In the morning, when the army found themselves deserted by their chief, the greater part enlisted under the banners of Furrukseer; and the rest disbanded. On receiving intelligence of this disaster, Jehaundar took the field in person, and moved towards Agra, where a large army was soon collected by a lavish expenditure of the royal treasures that had been accumulating there from the time of Shah Jehan. Formidable by their numbers, and not deficient in valour and discipline, for many of them were veteran soldiers, and had fought under Aurungzeb, if attachment to the royal cause had not been wanting, they probably would have triumphed over the insurgents: but the great Omrahs had for the most part been disgusted by the absurd and tyrannical conduct of the court, and, when the two armies at length met on the banks of the Jumna, the contest was neither long nor arduous. Zoolfecar, indeed, at the head of a few determined battalions, displayed his usual courage as a man, and his abilities as a commander; but the great body of the army was soon broken by the resolute and repeated charges of the Seyds,

and Furrukseer in person, who pierced through to their artillery, near which Jehaundar had taken his station, but which was deserted as they approached. The terrified Emperor immediately sought safety in flight, and disappearing from his elephant, the route became general and complete. Amidst this scene of dismay and confusion, the ameer-al-omrah bravely stood his ground till darkness covered the field; he then slowly retired to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of the Emperor, in the hope, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and renewing the attack the next morning. Jehaundar however was not to be found, and Zoolfecar, with the remainder of the army, marched towards Delhi. Thither, also, Furrukseer with his victorious army, immediately directed his progress, and was, by his two protectors, elevated to the throne of Timur. The wretched Jehaundar was afterwards taken, having in vain disguised himself by shaving off his beard and whiskers, and was strangled in prison. Thus every one of the four brothers, who had contended for the empire, fell in his turn the victim of that insatiable ambition which had been the occasion of so profusely shedding the blood of the race of Timur; and, in the end, Zoolfecar himself, the fomenter of their disputes, miserably perished by the same fatal bow-string. As a public example, at once, of imperial imbecility, and of great abilities prostituted to the basest purposes, their bodies were afterwards tied together, and with their heads downwards, slung across an elephant, in which condition they were exposed to public view, when the new Emperor made his triumphal entry into Delhi.*

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, page final.

FURRUKSEER.

Furrukseer, often written Feroksere, grandson of Bahadur, and great grandson of Aurungzeb, being firmly seated on the throne, appointed Abdollah Seyd his Vizier, and raised his brother Hossain to the rank of Ameer al Omrah. For a long time these powerful nobles, as well on account of their distinguished stations in the realm, as of the weight of obligation by which Furrukseer was bound to them, were suffered to have the sole administration of public affairs. Like their predecessors however in power, in every age and country, they grossly abused this delegated authority, and Furrukseer too soon found himself fettered by even more oppressive bonds than Jehaundar himself. Although not of brilliant abilities, he possessed a mind far more vigorous than the dethroned monarch, and by separating the brothers, he hoped to weaken their power and influence in the state. As, therefore, during the desolating wars that had recently taken place between the sons and the grandsons of Aurungzeb, the Rajapouts, and in particular, the Maharajah himself, Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar, had been guilty of the most daring acts of rebellion, levelling the mosques, and re-erecting the temples of the Hindoo deities, destroyed by Aurungzeb, it was proposed that Seyd Hossain, the brother most experienced in arms, should march against the insurgents at the head of the imperial troops. The project was seen through by the sagacious Seyds, for they well knew that a secret combination of courtiers, headed by one Meer Jumla, a worthless minion, in high favour with the Emperor, was formed against them ; but a full confidence in the strength of their own party, added to the pressing necessity which existed, that some exertion should be made to crush the Rajapout rebellion, induced Hossain to consent

to the acceptance of the command. By a policy equally despicable and ruinous, encouragement was secretly given, from court to Ajeet to persevere in his resistance to the imperial army, sent to subdue him, in order that Hossain might be detained as long as possible in that region; but Hossain, who received frequent letters from his brother, with intelligence of the proceedings of the opposite faction at Delhi, informing him that they were about to imprison them, and intreating his speedy return, carried on the war with such decisive spirit and vigour against the enemy, as quickly compelled them to sue for quarter. The terms of peace were the immediate payment of a large peshcush, the daughter of Ajeet, to be given in marriage to the Emperor, and his son to be sent to court as an hostage for his future good behaviour. After concluding this treaty, he returned with the utmost expedition to Delhi,

On his arrival at court, the ameer al omrah found every thing in confusion; the Emperor's confidential minister, Meer Jumla, disposing at his pleasure of all places and emoluments, and Abdollah Seyd, vizier only in name. Accused to their sovereign of direct disloyalty, he had resolved to seize on both their persons; but the knowledge of the intended arrest coming to their ears, they found means to render unavailing the plots laid to ensnare them, and now determined to act a more decisive part. They declined all attendance at court, on the plea that their lives were in danger from the intrigues of the favourite; they even levied troops and fortified themselves in their palaces, while Furrukseer and the courtly cabal held daily councils what were the best measures to be taken, pacific or hostile, with men of such vast resources, extensive connections, and daring ambition. It was found impossible for Meer Jumla and themselves to hold exalted stations under the same imperial roof, as great public measures

could not be for ever subject to the caprice of an individual. In this dreadful situation all public business was suspended; every body saw that a great storm was ready to burst; but nobody could resolve who were to be the victims. At length the court faction deemed it expedient to give way; the mother of the Emperor, who had guaranteed the treaty between her sons and the Seyds, when they first took up arms in his favour, interfered to prevent a rupture that must again convulse the empire, and it was finally agreed that Meer Jumla should be promoted to the government of Bahar, to which he should immediately retire, while Hossain was promoted to the richer soubahdary of Deccan, which he obtained permission for the present to govern by deputy.

Harmony being thus restored at court, by the removal of the obnoxious favourite, the most splendid preparations commenced for celebrating the nuptials of Furrukseer, with the daughter of the Maharajah, an union which it was hoped would prove a public benefit, by blending in one, the interests of the two great contending powers, whose sanguinary conflicts, for four centuries, had entailed so many disasters on India. Nothing, even in the days of the magnificent Shah Jehan, ever exceeded the pomp of those nuptials, for a love of splendour and ostentation was the characteristic of that vain prince, who was not stained with any deep crimes, but wanted fortitude and judgment. He was only unfortunate in having his hands fettered by those who placed him on the throne; and from whose tyrannical usurped power, he was for ever, but in vain, struggling to get released. Somewhat previously to this period, (A. D. 1715), arrived at Delhi, the ambassadors sent from Calcutta by our East India Company, as mentioned in a former page, and they are said to have been materially indebted for their success to the medical abilities of Mr. Hamilton, surgeon to the embassy, who by an operation,

skilfully performed, restored the Emperor to health, when given over by his own physicians, for which, among other rewards, (and much greater were intended) he was presented with models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold.*

Hossain at length commenced his journey for the Deccan; but when he had his final audience, he resolutely told the Emperor, that if any sinister designs were put in practice against his brother, the Vizier, he would in twenty days be with his army at the gates of Delhi. To make way for him, that old and favourite general of Aurungzeb, the NIZAM, had been removed, and for the temporary loss of his government, he meditated against the Seyds a deep, though concealed revenge. When arrived at Brampore, on the frontiers of that soubah, his authority was resisted by Daood Khan, an Afghan, the deputy appointed to govern during his absence, and secretly instigated, it was thought, by the Emperor, to oppose and cut him off. For this purpose he had received into his pay a body of Mahrattas, commanded by one of the principal chiefs of that nation, and encamping under the walls of Brampore, with confidence awaited the attack of the royalists. The engagement was obstinate and bloody; and at one time, even doubtful on the side of Hossain; but as the Afghan chief rushed forward with his elephant, to end the conflict by a personal combat with his antagonist, at that instant a matchlock ball entered his breast, and he fell dead upon his elephant. The Mahrattas, who, with their usual perfidy, had stood neuter at some distance, till it could be perceived which army was likely to prove triumphant, now pressed forward to join the victor, and share the plunder, which was very considerable. A part of it, with the intelligence of Daood's defeat, was transmitted to the Emperor, who received it in a manner that decisively

* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 139, ubi supra.

proved to the Vizier his deep regret that, instead of the Afghan, the imperial general had not perished.

Towards the close of this year, the Seiks, who during the late public disturbances, had multiplied considerably, and become very formidable, again appeared in arms. The governors of Lahore and Sirhind * were successively sent against them, but the former was defeated with great slaughter, and the latter basely assassinated in his tent by a Seik, sent for the purpose by Bunda, their chief, the same who had escaped by night when the fortress of Daber was invested by Bahadur. The governor of Cashmere now took the field, at the head of an army quadrupled in number, and was successfull. They were exterminated without mercy, and Bunda himself being taken, and refusing to turn Mahommedan, first had his infant child butchered before his face, and its palpitating heart forced (horrible atrocity!) into the wretched father's mouth; and was himself afterwards put to death, by having his flesh torn from his bones with red hot pincers, and other exquisite tortures; all which he bore with undaunted firmness. It may here be remarked, that from the rooted hatred borne by this sect towards the Mahommedans, their stern oppressors, the wars between them have ever been carried on with the most unrelenting barbarity.

About this time, the banished favourite, Meer Jumla, arrived at Delhi, from his exile in Bahar, not, it was thought, without a secret invitation from the Emperor. His imprudent conduct had greatly embarrassed the affairs of that province, and the outrages committed by his officers on the inhabitants, had nearly occa-

* "The Seiks now possess the provinces of Lahore, Panjab, and Multan, with great part of Delhi, and bands of them have more than once made inroads into the Nabob Vizier's dominions, but have been as often easily repelled by the approach of a British army." Note by Captain Scott, 1794.

sioned a general insurrection. This event seemed to forbode the immediate downfall of the Vizier, who, filled with just apprehension, summoned and armed his dependents in all the neighbouring districts.

The Emperor, also having neglected to discharge the arrears due to a body of twenty thousand cavalry, which he had ordered to be raised in a crisis of difficulty, that body, on being dismissed, mutinied, and between them and the Vizier's armed followers, the agitated city was thrown into the utmost confusion. When the ferment was at its highest, Furrukseer, ever precipitate, and equally irresolute in his plans, prudently gave way ; he consented to satisfy the disbanded troops, and allayed the suspicions of the Vizier, by sending the favourite once more into banishment at Lahore.

Thus did every exertion of the unfortunate Emperor, ultimately, only tend to bind him faster in those chains, with which the Seyds had manacled their devoted victim. Numerous were the other projects, to which he resorted to emancipate himself, but they are unworthy to be recorded in the dignified page of serious history, which seizes only on the great features and striking characters of each reign, and leaves minor characters and incidents to perish in deserved oblivion. The Mahrattas, now rising into great power and consequence, are eminently entitled to that distinguished notice, and to them and the affairs of Deccan we return.

The reader has already seen Aurungzeb engaged in active hostility against them during all the latter period of his life. Sahojee, or, as he is sometimes denominated, the Sou-rajah, the reigning sovereign, continuing to act with the same vigour and caution as his ancestors, had, during the dissensions that raged between the sons and grandsons of Aurungzeb, widely extended

his power, and added vastly to his domains in Viziapore, and the neighbouring Soubahs; harassing, as usual, on their march, the armies of the Mogul governors, and every where, on the old pretence of being *lords of the soil*, rigidly exacting the CHOUT, or fourth part of the revenues. The Ameer al Omrah, filled with indignation at their continual depredations on the imperial domains, determined to curb the insolence of that people. Being informed that they had erected a chain of forts on the high road between Surat and Brampore, from which they issued in large bodies, and compelled merchants and travellers to pay a *fourth* part of their property, or, in case of resistance, plundered them of the whole; he dispatched an army of four thousand horse, and as many foot, to expel the robbers, and raze the forts. The force thus detached was utterly inadequate to the undertaking; and the commander being outgeneraled, and drawn into ambush, they were defeated, and the whole detachment either killed, or taken prisoners. An army, far more powerful, under approved commanders, was afterwards sent against them; but with these troops the wary Mahratta chief was reluctant to contend in the open field, and retreated to Sattarah; at that time the capital of the Mahratta state, in the strong fortress of which Sahojee himself resided. Still, however, his predatory bands continued their depredations; on their fleet horses, scouring uncontrolled the open country, and plundering and burning wherever they came, but ever cautiously avoiding a general engagement.

It was now resolved to lay siege in form to Sattarah, and crush the evil at its source; but, at this instant, letters were received at Aurungabad, informing Hossain of the dissentions raging at Delhi, and moreover, that the Emperor had sent private orders to Sahojee, and all the persons of authority in Deccan, to oppose and distress his own governor there. Enraged to the last

degree at this intelligence, he immediately recalled the troops marching to invest Sattarah, and instead of farther irritating the Mahrattas, he resolved to make friends of that powerful confederacy, and bind them to his own interest, and that of his brother. He offered them terms degrading to the imperial dignity, and suffered them to have a resident at Aurungabad, to receive the *choute*, with the addition of what is called *deesmukkee*, or ten rupees in each hundred collected; a right not satisfactorily explained. The emperor, whose perfidy was thus retorted upon his own head, dared not refuse to ratify the treaty; but with increased assiduity laboured to undermine that power which he could not openly control. This admission of the exorbitant claims of the Mahrattas, in the governor of Deccan, was to the last degree impolitic, and laid the imperial crown of Timur at their feet. After this period, how rapidly their power and consequence increased in India, how bold their aggressions, and how shameless their extortions, the future pages of this history will too frequently demonstrate.

Before we come to the close of this reign of disaster and imbecility, another description of people must also be noticed, who were now becoming formidable by their numbers, and their outrages, I mean the Jats, or Jauts, who made their first appearance during Aurungzeb's prolonged wars in the south, as an intrepid band of robbers, and as such, received chastisement from that prince, who, on being informed of their depredations, sent from Deccan a strong detachment to reduce them. They are said to be descended from the ancient tribe of the Jits, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Mahmud of Gazna. They seem to have been the Getes, upon whom Timur, in his invasion of India made war, and were probably not unconnected with the Getæ of classical historians.

Their ferocious, predatory habits, seem to justify their presumed descent from those barbarians. It should not be omitted, however, that the word JATE, in Hindoo, signifies a husbandman, from which some have derived their name, however different their practice. Under a succession of daring chiefs, they gradually extended themselves along the banks of the Jumna river, and in the vicinity of Agra, and about this time broke into open rebellion. Rajah Jey Sing was sent by Furrukseer at the head of a considerable force to bring them to obedience; but taking refuge among their strong fortresses, they resisted all his efforts to subdue them for nearly a year, when, by bribes sent to the Vizier, who wished to secure their assistance, in any crisis of difficulty, together with a large pescush paid into the royal treasury, they obtained the recall of the troops under Jey Sing, who was greatly disgusted at having victory thus ravished from his grasp.

That crisis was rapidly approaching; the deposition of the Emperor was determined upon by the enraged brothers. In vain had Furrukseer summoned around him, from various and distant quarters, all the great vassals of the empire, in full confidence that they would support him against their usurpation. The artful Vizier held out alluring bribes to their ambition; and his brother was in full march from Deccan, with an army devoted to his interests, and ready, by one decisive blow, to crush every opponent. That army consisted of thirty thousand horse, ten thousand of which were Mahrattas. They poured, in a resistless torrent, into the capital, occupied the great squares, and filled all the avenues of the palace. Furrukseer, in a paroxysm of terror, fled into his haram, the doors of which, with barbarous violence were burst open, and the pusillanimous monarch was dragged from the midst of the shrieking females, who composed his family, not indeed to immediate death, but to confinement in a

dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace, where he was blinded with a hot iron. Attempting, however, soon after, to make his escape from his gloomy prison, he was assassinated, according to Fraser, on the 16th of February, 1719, after an inglorious, distracted reign of about seven years.*

The triumphant brothers now reigned without control, dividing among themselves and their adherents, the imperial treasures, jewels, elephants and horses; and Abdollah Seyd, who, to unbounded ambition, added unbridled lust, seized for his own use several ladies of the royal haram. Their principal agent in these and other atrocious transactions, was a venal and unprincipled wretch, named Ruttun Chund, their Dewan, or steward, who had long exercised a supreme control over the revenues of the empire, which he had farmed out to wretches, venal and extortionate as himself. Under him every thing had its allotted price; in that empire honours and titles were brought to a public mart, and all distinction between virtue and vice seemed to be annihilated. Although *they* may be truly said to have *reigned*, yet a nominal sovereign of the blood of Timur, an imperial pageant, was deemed necessary to their security, and therefore proceeding to the castle of SELIMGUR, in which the royal princes were confined, they took out of its solitary chambers,

RAFFEH AL DIRJAT,

the son of Raffeh Ooshawn above mentioned, and placed him on the vacant throne. He was quite a youth, and had neither voice nor will of his own, while all the great offices of state, and the most lucrative governments were filled with the friends, and dependants of the Seyds. The Vizier took possession of the palace, whence the eunuchs and other domestics, grown old in

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 45.

the service of the royal family, were ejected, to make room for the creatures of the new dynasty. They were cautious, however, of offending the more powerful among the old nobility. Sirbullind Khan, an omrah of great weight and influence, and at that time on his way to Cabul, at the head of a considerable army, was confirmed in his recent appointment to the government of that province, and adorned with new honours. To conciliate Nizam al Muluck, formidable both for his great military and political knowledge, the soubahdary of Malva was conferred upon him, whence he soon *appointed himself* to his former government of the Deccan, for we find him established there in great power, and the object of dread to the tottering brothers, in the first year of the reign of Mahommed Shah. He will soon become an important actor in the scenes, the eventful and sanguinary scenes, without parallel in the history of nations, about to pass in rapid succession, before the view of the reader.

The aim of the Seyds, in exalting to the throne so juvenile a prince, was, doubtless, that they might enjoy uncontrolled, during a long minority, the imperial power. But in this expectation they were grievously disappointed, for, after a nominal reign of about four months, the young emperor died of a consumption. Fraser says he was murdered by them; but as there appears no adequate cause to have excited them to such wanton barbarity, they may reasonably be presumed guiltless of that crime. They now raised to the same painful pre-eminence his younger brother,

RAFFEH AL DOWLAT;

But his reign was still shorter, for in less than three months he also died, it is said, a natural death, though there are writers of respectability, who, arguing possibly from the atrocious character,

and the wavering politics of the Seyds, assert that both of these unfortunate princes perished by the hand of assassination. A son of that Jehaun Shah noticed before as so distinguished by valour and abilities, a youth of about seventeen, yet remained in the prison-palace of Selimgur, and India saw a ray of transient glory illumine her horizon, when Sultan Rooshun Akber, under the assumed title of

MAHOMMED SHAH,

assumed that throne for which his father died contending. When the last pageant emperor died, the brothers were with the army at Agra, the governor of which city had rebelled, but being vigorously pressed, and despairing of pardon from his pursuers he put himself to death, and immediately the citadel surrendered at discretion. The mother of Mahommed, a woman of deep policy and sound judgment, attended her son to Agra, and devoted her attention to acquire confidence of the brothers, while the emperor himself was in all things scrupulously subservient to their will. This subserviency, however, in both mother and son was the result of the deepest hypocrisy, and they privately meditated plans for the overthrow of the haughty disposers of the throne, and destroyers of the race of Timur.

Shortly after the governor of Allahabad, who had been insulted by the brothers, raised the standard of independence, and the royal army began its march towards that quarter. A negotiation, however, commenced; the Seyds thought it prudent to relax a little from the stern severity of their despotism, and matters were amicably adjusted. The army now prepared to march against a more formidable rebel to their authority, the Nizam, who bade them defiance, and had collected a considerable army of mussulman and Mahratta troops to support his opposition. The

Emperor is said secretly to have encouraged his rebellion, and to have sent him a firmaun constituting him Soubah of Deccan in the place of Hossain. He was likewise encouraged to persevere by many of the discontented nobles at court who were grown weary of the insolence and tyranny of the usurpers, whom they hoped to crush, if they could be separated. The iniquitous Dewan saw into the projected scheme to ruin his protectors, and strongly advised the ameer al omrah not to proceed with the army to Deccan, but to make peace with the Nizam by a voluntary resignation to him of the government of that province. At this latter idea the pride of Hossain revolted, though he was easily persuaded to send an army commanded by another general against his antagonist. That general, however, and a second who followed him at the head of a still larger army, were successively and totally defeated by the experienced veteran who had so often led to victory the armies of Aurungzeb, and, at length, after great debate and irresolution between the brothers, in which their dread of the result was evident to the young sovereign and the whole court, it was determined that Abdollah, the Visier, should return to Delhi, and Hossain with the emperor march with the army to Deccan.

This plan of operations exactly coinciding with the wishes of those who had combined for their destruction, no time was lost in preparing for the expedition. In October 1720, according to Fraser, the imperial army left Agra, and having marched nine measured coss the first day, the emperor called a *divan* that night, and, after a short stay, withdrew. The conspirators, Mahommed Ameen Khan, an omrah high in favour with the emperor, Hyder Kuli Khan, the general of the artillery, and Dowran Khan, with several others, had fixed on that very evening for the assassination of the ameer al omrah, and as he was returning from the

audience in his pallankin, one of them on whom it had fallen (for it was decided by casting lots) to strike the fatal blow, approached it with a petition, at the same time crying aloud for vengeance on Mahommed Ameen Khan. At these words, which conveyed no unwelcome sounds to the ears of his bitterest enemy, he ordered the guards to stop, and while he was perusing the petition, the noble assassin struck his dagger into his breast, and immediately fell beneath a thousand swords plunged into his own. His followers, who were numerous, immediately flew to arms to revenge his death, but proper arrangements having been previously made, and the artillery being commanded by Hyder Kuli, the contest was soon decided; and the emancipated emperor, having publicly appointed the Nizam to the soubahdary of all Deccan, exultingly returned to Agra. Mahommed Ameen was appointed Visier, Dowran ameer al omrah, and on all who had assisted in the overthrow of the fallen Hossain were bestowed the most distinguished honours and rewards.*

When the fatal intelligence of a brother slain, and what might be truly called an empire lost, arrived at Delhi, it excited in Abdollah the mingled sensations of exquisite grief and high resentment. Resentment, however, prevailing, he immediately burst open the royal treasury, and robbed the peacock throne of its finest jewels,† in order to purchase the assistance of all who could bring a horse or arms, and by this means was enabled in a short time to raise a promiscuous army of 80,000 men; of whom not a few, after receiving their pay, deserted his standard. Many

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 55. Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 177.

† Fraser says, "he broke to pieces the famous *peacock throne*, which cost Shah Jehan nine crores," or as many millions sterling; but that imperial pageant we know afterwards became the plunder of Nadir Shah. I have, therefore, mitigated the outrage to a partial depredation of its jewels.

great omrahs, however, who owed their honours and fortunes to the Seyds, with their followers remained faithful to his cause, and to give it still more weight and consequence, he took out of his imprisonment Sultan Ibrahim, the infant son of Raffeh Ooshawn, caused him publickly to be proclaimed emperor, and placing him at the head of the forces, marched out of Delhi to meet and combat the imperial army. That army was already rapidly advancing towards the capital; and both received in their progress great multitudes of auxiliary troops, Afghans, Jauts, and other adventurers, ever ready, in hopes of plunder, to join in the contests of the princes of India. Not to enter into military details disgusting by their uniformity, the important battle that was to fix the crown on the head of Mahommed Shah, or rend the sceptre for ever from his grasp, took place, according to Fraser, on the 2d of November, 1720, at Sirkad, twelve coss from Muttra. It was long, obstinate, and bloody, but in the end Abdollah's forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded, and taken prisoner. The victorious Emperor on this occasion exerted a benignity that did honour to his heart. Abdollah being brought before him, after being severely reproved, was dismissed with no other punishment than that confinement which the monarch's security rendered necessary, had the palace of Asoph al Dowlat assigned him for his residence, and a princely establishment settled upon him, which, however, he did not long enjoy, as he died a few months afterwards of his wounds. The same clemency was also shown to the young Sultan, who was only remanded to his former apartments in the castle of Selimgur. In short, no sovereign ever enjoyed victory with more moderation, nor re-ascended a contested throne under more happy auspices than Mahommed Shah. The vigour and decision with which he had acted awed to obedience the refractory governors

in the distant provinces; tranquillity was again restored to the distracted empire; and the most confident hopes were entertained that his reign would be not less glorious than those of the most distinguished sovereigns of the house of Timur.

CHAPTER V.

Great Change in the Conduct of MAHOMMED, *who becomes indolent, and enervated.—The* NIZAM *invited to Delhi, and made Vizier, but soon retires in disgust to Deccan, and there meditates Independence.—He incites the Mahrattas to invade Agra and Delhi.—They are defeated, but renew their Irruptions in greater Numbers.—The Emperor at length purchases their Retreat by submitting to pay the* CHOUTE *for those Provinces, from which Period the Fall of the Mogul Monarchy may be dated.—Distractions at Court.—Character of* SADIT KHAN.—*He conspires with the Nizam, and they invite* NADIR SHAH *to invade India.—That Invasion described.—Consequent Ruin of the Empire.—Death of the Nizam.—Death of Mahommed.*

THE Oriental historian describes the triumphal entry of Mahommed into his capital, after the destruction of the Seyds, to have been one of the most splendid and magnificent pomps ever seen. He himself was mounted on an elephant of uncommon magnitude and beauty, most sumptuously adorned with housings of gold brocade, and sparkling with precious stones. This was preceded and attended with several other led elephants and horses adorned with equal magnificence; while the travelling thrones and other carriages of the Emperor, glittering with gold and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the household and the nobility were all newly clothed for the occasion, and the great omrahs vied with each other in the magnificence of their appearance. Gold and silver coins were scattered in profusion among the populace, whose acclamations of joy at

the restoration of the imperial authority rent the heavens. On his entering the palace he was met by his mother and the princesses bearing golden basons, filled with jewels, which they waved in triumph around his head; and the principal nobility presented *nuzzurs* (gifts) of the most costly kind. Of a reign thus happily and splendidly begun, it is painful to the historian to relate the unfortunate incidents that marked its progress, and its calamitous termination.

Those powerful enemies, those creators and destroyers of sovereigns, being crushed, and no public foe remaining to be subdued, Mahommed soon relaxed from the vigour that distinguished his early councils, and resigned himself to those seducing pleasures that had proved so fatal to many of his predecessors. He was in the prime of youth with every incentive of pleasure around him, and all the means of gratifying the passions predominant at that season were within his reach. His favourite minister Dowran Khan, the prince of the omrahs, though not without abilities and great military talents, was, also, not less devoted to dissipation than his master; and the new Visier, Kammer o'deen Khan, all young like the monarch, was of the same dissolute description. The sword was returned to the scabbard, as if danger had ceased to exist; days, months, and even years rolled on in circles of ever-varying delight; virtue was without honour, and valour without its reward.

In the mean time, those ancient enemies of the empire, the Rajapouts, took advantage of the supine indolence in which the court was plunged, and spread desolation through Ajmere, and the central provinces; while the Mahrattas, defeating and expelling the Mogul governors, without control extended their growing empire over Guzzurat, and the whole western coast. The Nizam, having collected a powerful army in Deccan, pre-

served that region and the peninsula from their ravages, but it was not for the Emperor that he preserved it. He had long aspired at independence, and was now taking the most effectual means of securing that extensive portion of the empire for himself and his posterity. A sensible writer* has well observed, that it would have been a fortunate circumstance for the Mogul emperors had they never attempted to make conquests in Deccan, as its great distance from the capital, as well as its innumerable local advantages, held out a perpetual temptation to the viceroy to make himself independent; and that probably, if the Deccan had been originally left to itself, the posterity of Timur might have still swayed the sceptre of Hindostan. The vast armies necessary for its subjugation in the first instance, and the reduction of its rebellious governors in the second, were an eternal drain upon the capital, and left the northern provinces of Lahore and Cabul without an adequate army for the defence of those frontier provinces through which Mahmud, Timur, and, as we shall soon see, a still more dreadful conqueror, Nadir, made their destructive irruptions.

Immersed in shameless debauchery, no active vigorous exertions were taken by Mahommed and his ministers to check the torrent of insubordination that threatened to subvert the empire. Palliatives were alone used to check the advances of the two former, the chief of the Rajapouts, Ajeet Sing, being confirmed in the government of Ajmere, from which it had been attempted to remove him, and the choute being allowed to the Mahrattas by the Mogul governor of Guzzurat. With respect to the Nizam, every effort was made to inveigle him to court, and the high station of Vizier was promised him; but for a long time the crafty viceroy resisted every solicitation. At length,

* Major Rennell.

however, being still more closely pressed, by letters from the emperor himself, and having settled matters on a firm basis in Deccan, he resorted thither at the head of a well-disciplined army of 10,000 men, as his guard, on whose fidelity in any emergency he knew he might place an entire dependence. Thus attended he met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, was appointed Absolute Agent, a rank higher than Vizier, and honoured with the title of Asof Jah.*

The Nizam, educated in the rigid school of Aurungzeb, and attached to his maxims both in politics and war, immediately urged upon the Emperor the necessity that existed for restoring the affairs of government to their ancient order and discipline; for a total reformation of manners; and a strict observance of the wise but severe laws enacted by that great man. Mahommed, who had recently married a daughter of the late emperor, Furrukseer, and at intervals was capable of serious reflection, listened to the hoary monitor, then in his eightieth year, with attention and respect, but his profligate courtiers ridiculed his projects of reform, which agreed not with the dissoluteness of their manners, and endeavoured to divert the Emperor's mind from attending to his grave admonitions by renewed dissipations. On the other hand, the veteran warrior, finding no efforts made to put those admonitions into practice, and disdaining to be the associate of men, who passed their whole time with abandoned women and low buffoons, solicited permission to march with his army into Guzzurat, and restore order in that distracted province. That permission was easily obtained, and the courtiers viewed with

* Asof Jah, says Mr. Fraser, is a title commonly given to Viziers. It signifies, in place and rank as Asof, whom, they say, was Solomon's Vizier. At the same time that they honour their Viziers with this title, they flatter their own vanity, by comparing themselves to Solomon.

joy the departure of a man of power too strong to be opposed, and of manners too inflexibly rigid to be seduced. The rebellion that had been secretly cherished by himself in Guzzurat was soon allayed by his presence in that province, to be excited again whensoever it suited the determined purposes of his ambition. The Mahrattas, indeed, were now become the necessary engines of that ambition, and shortly after his return to Deccan, without leave, he again solicited them to avert the vengeance that was fulminated against him from Delhi. He entered into an agreement with Rajah Sahoo, that a large body of that nation should immediately march northwards, and, ravaging all before them, penetrate even to the vicinity of Agra and Delhi. He hoped by this bold measure to rouze from their dream of indolence the luxurious emperor, and his besotted ministers, and that they might see and feel the absolute necessity of defending themselves and protecting the throne before they ventured to march an imperial army into Deccan.

In consequence, the Mahrattas, under the command of their most celebrated general, Bajerow, in 1730 commenced that fatal invasion, which with one tremendous sweep laid for ever low the humbled majesty of the empire. Their first attack was on Malva and Guzzurat, where the Mogul governor for some time made a vigorous resistance, but timely succours not being sent from Delhi, they were finally defeated, the country was extensively devastated, and has ever since remained in the hands of the conquerors. Bahadur, the viceroy of Malva, who died bravely fighting at the head of the provincial troops, wrote several remonstrative letters to the ministers, and told them in the most positive terms, that if properly supported, while he lived he would prevent the Mahrattas from pursuing their conquests further northward; but that if he fell, and they passed the frontiers of

Malva, they would infallibly over-run the whole empire. Bahadur was not supported, fell at his post, and, on his death, the prophecy was too amply verified. It seems to have been the aim of the Visier to subdue the enemies of the empire, not by arms, but by intrigue and bribery, a glaring proof of which was soon exhibited in the regular appointment by a firmaun of Bajerow to the soubahdary of Malva, thus rivetting the power which a more enlarged policy should have resisted to the last gasp of the expiring empire. But, observes the Oriental historian, the subtle fox cannot overcome the lion; and it was not by imprudent concession that such men as Bajerow and the Nizam were to be checked in the career of their insatiable ambition.

Notwithstanding, therefore, these ill-judged attempts at pacification we find the Mahrattas, in 1732, rapidly advancing their hostile legions towards Agra, and plundering even the districts appropriated to the support of the royal household. Thus insulted, and even braved, it became impossible for the imperial army to remain any longer inactive. It took the field in great force under the command of Muzzuffir, the Visier's brother, and every effort was made to bring on a general action with them; but the cautious Mahrattas declined, as usual, engaging him in the field. They contented themselves with perpetually harassing his line of march, and cutting off its supplies. The army, however, continued its progress without any opportunity of displaying its prowess, except in occasional skirmishes, till it reached Malva, where it met with the same mode of desultory attack which it had experienced in its march, and after a residence of some months at Sironje in that province, returned without having rendered any substantial service to the empire. The negative success that had attended the expedition was magnified by the Visier beyond victory; Muzziffir entered Delhi in triumph; and

was presented with a rich tassel of jewels for the turban; an honour, seldom conferred, but on the most distinguished conquerors.

Repulse only inflamed the hostile fury of those marauders, and incited them to new aggressions. In 1734, they renewed their devastations in the neighbourhood of Gualior, and in the suburbs of Agra, when the ameer al omra and the visier took the field to oppose them. But the campaign again terminated without any signal success over an enemy that always fled at their approach, and still eluded every attempt to bring them to close action, while their excursive legions, spreading in all directions, plundered the country without mercy, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. The following year a considerable body of them crossed the Jumna with intent to plunder the rich province of Oude, of which Sadit Khan, a general of great experience, of tried valour, and having under his command a body of troops of superior courage and discipline, was the governor. Sadit immediately marched against them, by his superior skill brought them to action, and after an obstinate engagement defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed 5000 of them.* In attempting to repass the Jumna vast numbers were drowned, and the general, Mullar Row with difficulty reached the camp of Bajerow near Gualior. Bajerow, not at all discouraged by this misfortune, prepared to act against the Moguls with increased vigour; while Sadit, flushed with his recent triumph, and burning for military glory resolved to follow up the blow, and, if possible, drive those barbarous invaders beyond the bounds of Hindostan Proper.

Intelligence being brought to Delhi of this signal defeat of the Mahrattas, the Vizier, and the prince of omrahs thinking

* Fraser, p. 66.

the present a proper opportunity to strike a decisive blow, immediately put the imperial army in motion, and marched towards Agra. Sadit was already far advanced in his march towards Gualior, when he received orders from the imperial commanders to halt till he could join them with his forces, in order, that united, they might act with more effect against the common enemy. Those orders that chief very reluctantly obeyed, because he was well acquainted with the rapid motions of the foe with whom they had to contend, and the importance of expedition. What that sagacious commander had conjectured actually took place. Bajerow, knowing the capital was almost deserted of troops, at the head of his choicest and best mounted cavalry pushed forward with the rapidity of lightning to Feridabad, ten coss from Delhi, which place they plundered; and arrived in the suburbs of Delhi, before any tidings of his movement had reached that capital. The emperor, dissolved in pleasure, and the nobles and citizens utterly unprepared for resistance, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Paleness sate on every face, and despair reigned in every heart. Never before for ages had an armed enemy, not of the royal blood, or combating in defence of it, dared to approach so near the august abode of the race of Timur. For three successive days they continued plundering the wretched inhabitants, and laying in ruins whatever was valuable and sacred in the environs of that great city. On the fourth day, when they were on the point of entering the metropolis, arrived Sadit Khan, with the Vizier and ameer al omrah at the head of the imperial army, when the enemy was attacked, defeated and put to flight. They were pursued by the two latter as far as Alaverdi Khan's serai, about seven coss from Delhi, where being joined by others of their tribe, they made a resolute stand, and the two ministers, rather than hazard

a second battle, consented to an inglorious compromise of their own honour and that of the empire, by agreeing to pay the Chout for Delhi and Agra, on condition of their immediately evacuating those provinces. Having thus obtained their object by an immense accumulation of plunder, and by laying the imperial throne itself under contribution, the Mahrattas retreated to Malva, and the Mogul army returned to Delhi, whence the brave Sadit Khan, disgusted at the base compact entered into with the determined enemies of the empire, abruptly, and without taking leave of the emperor, who by Dowran's persuasion had confirmed it, departed for his province. This fatal compact, which gave the death-blow to the empire, took place towards the close of the year 1735.*

In the mean time the Nizam continued extending his conquests, and his influence in Deccan, and though in the receipt of a vast annual revenue, under the pretended necessity of keeping up a great standing army to over-awe the Mahrattas, remitted nothing to court. Nor were the accustomed revenues received from the rich provinces of Malva, Narwah, Biana, and Ajmere, which had been so ravaged by the Mahrattas that no taxes could be levied on the unfortunate inhabitants. In this perplexed situation of public affairs, and as the chief cause of that perplexity was known to arise from the discontent of the Nizam, new efforts were made by the emperor to pacify that omrah and allure him once more to court. The emperor was probably sincere in his wishes in the present emergency to have the benefit of the advice of so great a statesman; but his ministers could only desire his presence at Delhi, the sooner accomplish his destruction; and however incredible it may seem that so crafty a politician, as

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 66. Scott's Deccan, p. 201. Dow's Decline of the Mogul Empire, vol. iii. p. 316.

the viceroy of the Deccan, should again trust himself in the hands of those who considered him as the greatest obstacle to their projects, and plans, those efforts were successful. That event, according to Fraser, who was at that time in India, and might have obtained his information from an authentic quarter, was accomplished through the means of Mihr Parver, the emperor's grandmother, who had great influence over that omrah, and at his urgent request wrote to him letters, full of kindness, and assuring him that he should have the entire management of affairs at Delhi, provided he came without delay. He complied with her request, but met with no better treatment than before. The omrahs, not only disregarded him, but took all opportunities of affronting him, especially Dowran and his creatures, who, when he came to pay his respects at court, used to ridicule him, saying in a scoffing manner, *Observe how the* Deccan *monkey dances*. This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of inflamed resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the empire, and destroying Dowran and his creatures. He imparted his design to the Vizier Kammir o'deen Khan, imagining he would join with him. But notwithstanding the alliance between them, (Nizam's son being married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to Nizam's daughter) he could not engage him to join in any plot detrimental to the public interest; on the contrary, he used his endeavours to dissuade him from the project, by representing to him the infamy of sacrificing his country to private resentment. When Nizam perceived he would not come into his measures, he applied himself to Sadit Khan, the Soubahdar of Oude, who then had a great body of men at his command, was an officer of experience, and had lately raised his reputation by his action with the Mahrattas; and, what was still more to his purpose, had,

since that time, stood ill-affected towards the emperor and his favourite. These omrahs having entered into an agreement, it was resolved that Nadir Shah, ruler of Persia, who was then besieging Candahar, should be the instrument of distressing the emperor, and of removing Dowran from his counsels for ever.* Such is Fraser's concise statement of this important combination, by which a great though declining empire was utterly subverted, and an ancient dynasty plunged in irretrievable ruin. In describing the calamity itself, it will be necessary to go into a more extensive detail; for the annals of Asia record no event more momentous in its consequences than the invasion of India by NADIR SHAH.

That conqueror, but newly seated on the usurped throne of Persia, on account of insults offered to his embassador, and of the protection afforded by the Mogul governor on the frontiers to the rebellious Afghans, his subjects, already harboured a secret resentment against the court of Delhi, but till the invitation received from those disaffected omrahs does not seem to have meditated any irruption of the extent and magnitude that afterwards took place. The splendour of the exploit, and the immensity of the plunder, by which the myriads who composed his army might be supported without oppressing Persia with new burthens, urged him to undertake an expedition by which his ambition and his avarice might at once be gratified. Having at length planted his victorious standards on the heights of Candahar, Nadir set out for Cabul, according to the before-mentioned author, at the head of 80,000 horse, composed of various nations and tribes, but all inured to hardships, and from their infancy trained to war. Nasser Khan, the governor of that soubah, having in vain solicited auxiliary troops from Delhi, retreated nearer the capital to Peishore,

* Fraser, p. 69.

in hopes of making a more successful stand; but Sherzih Khan, the more resolute governor of the castle of Cabul, refused to surrender the keys, and defended both the city and castle for six weeks with the most undaunted bravery. During this period he wrote repeated letters to court for assistance; but none arriving, both city and castle were at length taken by storm, and he and his son were put to death. Nadir Shah found there treasure, jewels, arms, &c. to a vast amount, which had been laid up in vaults ever since the reign of Sultan Baber.*

According to Sir W. Jones's summary but luminous account of this invasion, of which we shall now have the benefit, the Persian army lay encamped in the plains of Cabul till the middle of June, 1738, in which interval Nadir sent an expostulatory letter to the Mogul, containing a succinct narrative of the affront he had received, of his resolution to chastise the insolence of the Afghans, and of the obstruction made to his progress by the governor of Cabul; he declared, that he had strictly forbidden the least act of violence by his soldiers, and that he desired nothing so much as the continuance of their mutual friendship. This letter was entrusted to an envoy, who set out for Delhi attended by several chiefs of Cabul, who were enjoined to confirm the truth of his assertions: but, when they reached Gelalabad, the governor of that place put the Persian envoy to death, and compelled the chiefs of Cabul to return. Nadir Shah could no longer brook such a succession of injuries, but marched with great rapidity towards Gelalabad, 70 miles below Cabul, and, on the 28th of July, encamped at Kendemac, a place remarkable for the serenity of its air, and the beauties of its situation. From this place he detached a body of Persians against Gelalabad, who entered the city without opposition on the 10th of August: but

* Fraser, p 132.

the governor Mir Abbas, conscious of his crime, and fearing the punishment due to it, retreated to a fortress situated on a mountain of very difficult access. The Persians attacked his intrenchments, and took the fort by assault: Mir Abbas was killed, together with the Indians that attended him, and his family were sent in chains to the royal camp.

Soon after, the Persian army marched to the east of Gelalabad, and halted in the station of Rikab, where Nadir received intelligence of a formidable army, that was preparing to oppose him. Nasser Khan, governor of Cabul, had assembled on that spot a considerable body of Afghans and Indians, and was resolved to dispute with the Persian invaders the passage of Peishor, which was also defended by a strong castle. Upon this information, Nadir left the artillery with the prince Nafralla, and advanced with great celerity towards Peishore; the next day, after a rapid march, he reached the army of Nasser, who were so astonished at the incredible haste of the Persians, that their courage and resolution wholly forsook them: their ranks were broken in an instant, and those only escaped the sword, who had recourse to a precipitate flight. Nasser, and several Indian chiefs, were taken prisoners; and their camp was entirely pillaged: the captives were kept under close confinement, and the plunder was distributed among the Persian soldiers. After this victory the fortress of Peishore was easily taken, and the king staid several days in the adjacent plains, in order to refresh his troops, and to wait for the arrival of the prince Nafralla.

That prince having at length arrived, Nadir resumed his march, and with the skill and firmness of a great general whom no difficulties could retard, and no dangers dismay, safely conducted the army over the five branches of the river Indus, which at that season were swelled with the rains, and flowed with the

most rapid current. A numerous army was assembled on the opposite banks, under the command of Zekaria, governor of Lahore: but whether they were alarmed at the swift progress and formidable appearance of the Persians, or confounded at their surprising passage over the Indus, they retreated with a mixture of terror and astonishment. As Nadir continued to advance towards the city of Lahore, Zekaria sent an officer of rank, with a considerable present, to implore his clemency, and to promise the strictest submission. This messenger met with a favourable reception, and Zekaria, having received many marks of distinction, was confirmed in his government of Lahore. At the same time Nasser was admitted into favour, having been bribed, according to Fraser, by the conspirators, and returned, by the permission of the conqueror, to the capital of his province.

In the mean time the Mogul was preparing to obstruct the progress of these victorious invaders; he had marched twenty-five leagues from the metropolis of his empire, and lay encamped on the plains of Karnal, with an army of thirty thousand Indians, and two thousand armed elephants: the rest of his very numerous forces were making all possible haste to join him, and were commanded by the most illustrious princes of India. It was not long before Nadir's emissaries gave him a full account of Mahommed's situation; upon which he left Lahore, and arrived at Serhind on the 8th of January, 1739, whence he dispatched six thousand Persians to examine the Indian camp, while he continued in full march towards it, with the rest of the army. On the 10th he reached Ambala, about thirty miles from Karnal; and, in the same night, the detachment fell upon the Mogul's camp, and, having slain or taken prisoners a great number of the guards, retreated to Azimabad, where they were joined on the 14th by the royal forces. Nadir was informed by the Indian

prisoners, that the plain of Karnal was defended on the eastern and western sides by a broad river, and a very thick forest, that the intrenchments of Mahommed were guarded by three hundred pieces of artillery, and that he was waiting for the vast armies of the Vizier, his commander in chief, and his other ministers. The next morning the Persians continued their march, and pitched their tents six miles from the Mogul's camp; towards which Nadir made an excursion, and returned after an exact survey of it. He then advanced to the east of Karnal, and, arriving at a large plain about a league from the Indians, he encamped in a very advantageous situation. In the evening he had intelligence, that Sadit, an Indian prince of very high rank, was hastening to join Mahommed, with thirty thousand men. It was too late to intercept this reinforcement, which reached Karnal at midnight: but a troop of Persians who had been sent for that purpose, attacked the rear of the Indians, and plundered the baggage of Sadit. This loss exasperated that general to the highest degree, and drove him to the fatal resolution of advancing early the next morning against Nadir Shah, without considering the disadvantage of acting offensively against an invading enemy, who might otherwise have been reduced to great extremities in a country so little known to him, or compelled to fight upon very unequal terms: but Mahommed and the Indian princes, who had been softened by a life of luxury and indolence, deceived by the vast number of their forces, and wholly void of experience in military affairs, determined to venture on a battle, and hastened to the support of Sadit, with a vain confidence of victory. They were soon joined by Khan Dowran, commander in chief, Nizam al Muluck, prince of Deccan, Kammir o'deen, the Grand Vizier, and many other able generals, at the head of very numerous armies, divided into three bodies, which extended to an amazing length on the field

of battle. Nadir Shah was so far from being disheartened at the sight of this formidable armament, that he is said to have been animated beyond his usual degree of courage: he knew, that an army of soft and enervated Indians were little able to oppose the hardy troops, whom he had trained to arms by the most excellent discipline, and allured to engage with more ardour than ever, by the hopes of sharing the spoils of so rich a kingdom; he perceived the folly of his adversaries, in bringing to the field such enormous pieces of ordnance, which they were unable to conduct with skill, and in depending upon the number of their elephants, which could not fail to distress and impede them in a general action.*

These considerations gave him such an assurance of success, that he ordered Nafralla to stay behind with the greatest part of the artillery, and rushed with a wild impetuosity upon the Indians. The shock was equally violent on both sides, but the two armies were conducted with a very different spirit; for while the Persians were able, with very little impediment, to seize every advantage that presented itself, their enemies were quickly thrown into confusion, and would have made but a short resistance, if so unwieldy a body could even have retreated with speed. After a scene of havock and disorder for five hours, the

* The above, it will be recollected, is the Persian account of this invasion, written by an historian in the train of Nadir, therefore probably not without prejudice in favour of his hero, and certainly not acquainted with the secret springs of the actions of Nadir Shah, and of the Indian Omrahs. Authentic documents collected by our countrymen at Delhi, place things in a very different point of view, and evidently demonstrate a collusion between the principal agents in this dark affair. Sadit, in thus prematurely attacking the Persians, undoubtedly acted *treacherously*, with a view to throw himself into their hands; for no general, consummately skilled in the art of war like himself, would have acted in this manner, and thus early and precipitately bring on a general engagement.

prince Sadit, who had been the first to take the field, was the first to leave it; and his troops by their sudden flight imparted a general terror to Mahommed, and his ministers, who retired in haste to their camp at Karnal, and depended for their safety on the strength of their intrenchments. The rout of the Indian army soon became universal; the two nephews of Sadit, who were mounted upon the same elephant, were taken prisoners; Khandowran received a wound, of which he died the next day; and ten princes of eminent rank, with an hundred nobles and officers of distinction, and thirty thousand of their soldiers were slain in the action; great numbers of Indians were made captives, and all their elephants, horses, and instruments of war fell into the hands of the conquerors.

After this victory, Nadir Shah advanced to the camp of Mahommed, which he found so strongly fortified, that he could not attack it with advantage, but thought it more prudent to enclose it on all sides, and to distress the Indians, who were almost destitute of provisions, by a continual blockade: on the third day after this, the ministers of Mahommed, finding it impossible either to exist in that confinement, or to escape from it, prevailed with him to preserve his life at the expence of his kingdom, and by resigning his diadem, to calm the resentment of the conqueror. The great Mogul perceived the necessity of this expedient, and left his entrenchments, attended only by the prince of Deccan, the grand Vizier, and his other nobles. When Nadir was informed of his approach in this submissive manner, he sent the prince Nafralla to meet him, and himself received him at the door of his tent, where he took him by the hand with great mildness, and placed him by his side on the throne. Mahommed resigned his crown in form, and was treated, on that day and the next, as a guest in the Persian camp, where he received every

demonstration of respect. On the 1st of February, Nadir advanced towards Delhi; and on the 7th he encamped in the gardens of Shallimar; where Mahommed obtained leave to enter the city, in order to prepare his palace for the reception of his vanquisher. Nadir followed him on the 9th; and was conducted to a magnificent edifice, built by the Mogul Shah Jehan, which, upon this occasion, was decorated with every ornament that the treasury of Mahommed could supply. That unfortunate monarch, finding himself reduced to the condition of a private nobleman, prepared to attend his conqueror with the lowest marks of submission: but Nadir Shah soon raised him from the state of dejection into which he was sunk, by declaring that he would reinstate him on the throne of his ancestors, and that he would repair the late breach in their friendship, by maintaining a perpetual alliance with the Indian empire, and by giving him a sure support upon every exigence: but that he would stay some time at Delhi, to refresh his army after their long expedition. The Mogul was so penetrated with this unexpected act of generosity, that he expressed his gratitude in the strongest manner, and having stripped his treasury of the most valuable jewels and curiosities that were deposited in it, he brought them as a present to Nadir Shah. These treasures consisted of rich vases adorned with gems, vast heaqs of gold and silver in coin and ingots, with a great variety of sumptuous furniture, thrones, and diadems: amongst the rest was the famous throne in the form of a peacock, in which the pearls and precious stones were disposed in such a manner as to imitate the colours of that beautiful bird, and which was said to be worth two millions and a half sterling.*

Such is the substance of Sir W. Jones's account of Nadir's

* Sir W. Jones's History of Nadir Shah, section V. on the Indian invasion, p. 85, 86, et seq. oct. edit. 1773.

Indian irruption, founded, as before observed, on the authority of a Persian manuscript, translated by himself for the king of Denmark, at an early period of life. He allows that the writer, who attended Nadir in most of his expeditions, might be somewhat partial in his narration, but he contends for the general correctness of the facts recorded, and, except in its silence as to the circumstance of the conspiracy, and Nadir's boundless rapacity, it accords pretty accurately with those of Fraser and others. Coming from such a source I thought it too curious to be omitted; but the accounts of the suffering Indians themselves must also be heard, and the picture is in most parts charged with colours of a much more dark and sanguinary hue.

According to native authors, consulted by our countrymen, the Mogul fortified camp at Karnal extended seven coss in circumference; and the army itself, an army, according to Mr. Orme, famished by its own numbers,* amounted to nearly half a million, with a train of a thousand pieces of artillery, linked together by massy chains.† The number of the elephants is, however, doubtless greatly over-rated at 2000. The enormous wealth obtained by Nadir at Delhi was by no means a voluntary gift, as the Persian author affirms, for by far the greatest part was extorted by blood and stripes from the miserable inhabitants, and in its total value amounted, not, as he seems to intimate, to *thirty* millions, but, as we shall hereafter see, to above *sixty* millions sterling. The substance of what less partial writers have related, as occurring after the battle, or rather skirmish of a few hours, that laid the crown of India at the feet of Nadir, is as follows.

After the various ceremonial visits paid by the humbled emperor to his conqueror, who, according to Fraser, was by no

* Orme, vol. i. p. 39. † Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 201.

means so polite or condescending as the Persian relates, but severely reproached him for his obstinacy, his treatment of his embassadors, and his degrading the throne of Timur by paying the *choute* to the infidel Mahratta race; after these visits, and repeated conferences holden with the Nizam * and Sadit respecting the immense sum to be paid for the ransom of the emperor and his capital, amounting, under the softer name of peishcush, to twenty-five millions sterling, the two armies began their march for Delhi in the most guarded and cautious manner possible. It commenced on the 2d of March. Nadir Shah marched first at the head of 20,000 chosen horse: in a line with Nadir, at the distance of a coss proceeded his haram, guarded by 4000 horse. Mahommed Shah, accompanied by 40 or 50 only of his attendants, but with a *guard of honour* of 10,000 *Kezzlebash* horse (resolute soldiers of Persia resembling the Janizaries of Turkey) and 2000 harquebussiers followed Nadir at a distance of one coss. The Nizam, Vizier, and other great officers, with their attendants, followed half a coss distant from each other, and separated by Kezzlebash horse to prevent their junction. The extent of ground which they covered in their march was five coss in length and three in breadth, and the same method was observed on every day's march. On the 7th of March the grand cavalcade arrived at the gardens of Shallimar, described before, and on the

* The Nizam's reception is thus described in letters from Delhi: "On the 17th of February Nizam al Muluck, with Azim Allah Khan, and a guard of horsemen, went out, and a small tent being pitched between the two camps, Nadir Shah's Vizier came, and from thence conducted him to his master, who embraced him sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a cup of sherbet, and made him eat at the Vizier's house. The conference was continued all that day, and the 18th, at the close of which he received a rich dress on being made captain general and ameer al omrah in the room of the deceased Dowran Khan." Fraser, p. 161.

8th Mahommed, accompanied by 4000 Kezzlebash horse, by Nadir's permission, entered the castle. The conqueror delayed his triumphal entry till the following day, when it took place with all the caution imaginable, and at the head of 20,000 horse; the rest of the army encamped without the walls of the city.

On Saturday the 10th of March the sun entered Aries — that sun which had often witnessed the unequalled pomp, the unrivalled glory of the house of Timur, now beheld the usurper of the throne of the Sefi's, sitting on the imperial musnud of India, and receiving *extorted* offerings of inestimable value from her degraded emperor, and her prostrate nobility. These presents, together with the treasures found in the subterraneous vaults of the palace, hoarded up since the reign of the magnificent Shah Jehan, and sealed with the seal of the empire, and the *peacock* throne, with nine others of inferior lustre and value, amounted by the lowest computation, to thirty-five millions sterling. Of gold and silver plate, which he melted down and coined, the amount exceeded five millions; of utensils set with jewels, and of jewels unset, five millions more. In the richest brocades and stuffs of Indian manufacture he received the value of two millions; in horse and elephant caparisons, adornedwith gold and gems, three millions; in all, fifty millions sterling! A more general and complete depredation was never committed by any imperial robber in ancient or modern times.

Enormous, however, as was this amount, that robber was by no means satisfied with it; but gave orders for levying a peishcush of eight millions more upon the merchants and inhabitants of the opulent city of Delhi. In raising this additional sum the most severe cruelties were exercised, and many of them died under the extreme tortures inflicted upon them, by those appointed to collect it. Many also of the higher order of nobles, who were

supposed to have not made offerings proportionate to their immense fortunes, were called upon for additional sacrifices. The two traitors, Sadit and the Nizam, who by their inviting Nadir to invade Hindostan, had brought such incalculable evils upon their country, were amerced in very large sums; Sadit a million, and the Nizam a million and a half. The former having been spoken to by Nadir, in terms of great severity, respecting the collection of the peishcush money, being in a languid state of health, was so affected, that on the following morning he died, though it was generally reported, that, agonizing with remorse, he had accelerated his fate by swallowing poison. Persons the most venerable for age and virtue were not spared, and some were assessed double what they were able to pay. The severity of these exactions irritated the populace to madness; tumultuous insurrection in many places was the result; and resistance was made, wheresoever it could be made with effect. To these calamities, succeeded the more dreadful one of famine, occasioned by the increased multitudes of men and horses that inundated the province of Delhi. An attempt of the Persian commander of Delhi, to regulate the price of wheat at the public granaries, caused the spark, which was already kindled, to burst forth into a flame, which was only to be quenched by the blood of 100,000 of its inhabitants. Fraser states the first commotion to have taken place about noon; that it was considerably increased towards evening; that after sunset, some persons having reported that Nadir was taken prisoner, and others that he was poisoned, the mob and tumult exceeded all bounds; and all the idle and disaffected of that great city, joining from all quarters, with such implements of destruction as they could most readily procure, rushed in a torrent towards the castle, devoting to death every foreigner they met, and breathing vengeance against the invaders

of their country. Of the external guard a considerable portion were instantly sacrificed to their fury, and the remainder sought safety in flight.*

On the first tidings of these commotions, Nadir, firm and collected in every difficulty, had dispatched couriers on fleet horses to his general in chief, Thamas Khan, who with the rest of the army, was encamped without the walls, with orders to commence his march, with 30,000 horse, immediately for the capital; and the vanguard of that army shortly after arriving, soon routed with immense slaughter, the infuriated populace that surrounded and threatened to storm the citadel. In a few hours after, the whole of this formidable body entered the city; and Nadir, thus re-inforced, at midnight marched out of the castle at their head, to crush the insurrection. Inflamed with high resentment against the faithless Delhians, but ignorant of the full extent and magnitude of the evil, he intrepidly led them on towards the great mosque of Roshin al Dowlat, which stands in the center of the city, and there took his station. All was raging tumult and distraction around him, but he remained firm and unmoved, acting solely on the defensive, and waiting for the break of dawn, to let loose his vengeance on the devoted city. The morning, big with the fate of Delhi, at length arose; and discovered to him heaps of his Persian soldiers weltering in their blood. An awful, momentary pause ensued; and during that pause, a pistol was discharged at him, from a neighbouring terrace, the ball of which missed himself, but killed an officer standing close at his side. He immediately ordered a general massacre to commence from that very spot. His squadrons of horse, instantly pouring through the streets, put every one, without distinction, aged and young, women and children, to death. His foot soldiers at the same

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 184.

time, mounting the walls and terraces, consigned to the same fate every soul they found upon them. The love of spoil, and the thirst of blood, equally operating on those barbarians,—all the bazars of the jewellers, and the houses of the rich citizens in that quarter, were first plundered, and then set on fire. Fearful of the violation of their women, many of the higher rank of Indians collected together their females and their treasures; and, then setting fire to their apartments, consumed them with themselves in one general conflagration. From the same dread, thousands of women plunged headlong into tanks and wells. In every imaginable form of horror,

> DEATH stalked at large
> Through all the streets of that vast capital,
> And seem'd to REIGN UPON THE THRONE OF DELHI.*

During this dreadful carnage the king of Persia continued in the mosque of Roshin al Dowlat. His countenance is said to have been dark and terrible, and that, during the paroxysm of his rage, none but slaves dared to approach him. At length the unfortunate emperor of India, attended by the principal omrahs, with sorrowing looks, and eyes fixed on the ground, ventured to draw near and intercede for the half ruined city and surviving inhabitants. For a time he was obdurate; at length the sternness of his countenance relaxed, and, sheathing his sword, he said, For the sake of the prince Mahommed, I forgive. The joyful tidings of his wrath appeased were immediately, by sound of trumpet, conveyed through the city, and the work of destruction as instantly ceased. Between the issuing of the bloody mandate at sun-rise and two o'clock in the

* Fall of the Mogul; a tragedy founded on this tremendous catastrophe, and presented to the reader in the Appendix.

afternoon, 100,000 Delhians of all ages were inhumanly butchered. The tyrant then retired into the citadel; and enquiry being made into the origin of the tumult, several Indians of distinguished rank were seized, as the secret abettors of the insurrection, and their execution closed the scene of desolation and carnage. The once beautiful city of Delhi, in the meantime, exhibited a most dismal spectacle, the great streets being filled with the ruins of fallen palaces and houses consumed by the fire; and the smaller streets and passages being absolutely choaked up with the multitude of putrefying carcases. To avoid the danger of pestilence both Persians and natives were for some days employed in removing the bodies of the dead; those of the Indians were heaped up in vast piles, and burned in the rubbish of the ruined houses, and those of foreigners were buried promiscuously in pits, or thrown into the Jumna.

The transition from rioting in blood to rioting in intemperance is a practice congenial to the mind of the tyrant. From celebrating the orgies of death, Nadir shortly after proceeded to celebrate those of Hymen and Bacchus, for on the 26th of the same month, while the sabres of the Persian soldiers were yet warm with the slaughter of the Indians, with great pomp and splendor were solemnized the nuptials of his son, the prince Nasr Allah, with a grandaughter of Aurungzeb; by which politic measure the royal line of Persia and India being united, he hoped posterity would see the crown of both empires placed on one head. The most sumptuous presents were made to the bride on this momentous occasion both by Nadir, and the Indian emperor, and omrahs, and the most happy auspices were drawn from this august alliance. In the mean time the tribute of the peishcush was exacted with increased rigour from the miserable inhabitants of Delhi, but at length the full amount being col-

lected; and the coffers both of the great and the small being utterly exhausted, the Persian army in high spirits, refreshed with health, and loaded with plunder, Nadir began to think of his return to Persia, and having appointed a fixed day for all the omrahs to assemble early in the morning at Mahommed's apartments, his orders were punctually obeyed. Rich kelauts, turbans, and sabres, were prepared for the omrahs, more or less decorated with gold and silver ornaments according to their rank. With these they were invested, and then proceeded, with the dethroned emperor at their head, seated on a royal litter under a canopy of state, to the general divan, where Nadir received them; and after the two emperors had embraced, and refreshments had been served, a crown set with the most costly jewels was brought in, which Nadir, with his own hand, placed on the head of Mahommed, making him at the same time those apologies which the time and circumstances seemed to demand. He was then invested with the other regalia, in like manner set with the richest stones. Nadir then saluted him as emperor, and after giving him the most salutary advice concerning the future government of the empire and his conduct towards the omrahs, particularly enjoined him to be cautious of that hoary traitor, the Nizam; adding, If necessary I can be with you at the head of my army in forty days from Candahar.* The two monarchs then solemnly swore to maintain with each other

* Nadir is, however, by one of his biographers reported to have declared before some of his omrahs, that he had acted indiscreetly in regard to two things; one was his restoring the empire to Mahommed Shah, who being unequal to so great a task, the affairs of India would become worse than formerly; the other was, his giving quarter to Nizam al Muluck, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise disturbances; but as according to the decrees of Providence, and the assistance of their own good fortune, he had once passed his word to them he could not then recede.

eternal friendship; and Mahommed, as a pledge of his sincerity, made over to Nadir, and his successors on the Persian throne for ever, all the provinces situated on the west of the Indus; a cession extremely gratifying to Nadir, as some of them had anciently been considered as part of Khorasan, and had been the object of much contention between the two nations.*

On the 7th of May Nadir commenced his march for Persia, and on the evening of that day encamped in the gardens of Shallimar. His exit from Hindostan was marked by the same dreadful scenes of devastation as his ingress; and of the immense wealth which he carried out of it a great portion is said to have been buried in the Indus; owing to the bridge of boats which he had thrown over it being carried away by the rapidity of the stream, and with it many of the animals that were loaded with treasure. On the banks of that river a new, and almost incredible instance of his insatiable avarice is related by Khojeh Abdulkurreem, a Cashmirian nobleman in his train, and is deserving of notice, because it marks the absolute control of this great conqueror over the soldiers who fought under his banners, many of them perhaps not less avaricious or eager for diamonds than himself. Two jewels of inestimable value, that had adorned the turban of the Mogul, being missing from the royal treasury, a search was ordered to be made for them among the baggage of the army. That search not being successful, Nadir issued a decree, challenging all precious stones whatever taken in the plunder of Hindostan as his property, and ordering all the treasures of that kind, under penalty of death, to be brought into the treasury. But this was not sufficient: officers were placed at the ferry to examine all persons before they passed

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 223. Jones's Nadir Shah, p. 93, ubi supra.

the river; and if any valuable jewels were discovered upon them, to seize and send them to the royal repository. Upon the publication of this order some of the soldiers came of themselves and delivered up the jewels they had got in plunder, and these were rewarded with dresses and other presents. From others were taken what they had concealed in the packs and saddles of their horses, camels, or mules. Some buried their stores in the ground, hoping that after the search was over they might be able to return and dig them up again; but from the strict orders of Nadir Shah, which were punctually obeyed, it was impossible for any one to recross the river; and thus the treasure remained in the bowels of its parent earth. Others, out of rage and indignation, threw into the river whatever they had concealed.*

Nadir in fact delighted in this kind of wealth, of which Hindostan afforded him so plentiful a harvest. His turban, his tents, and his horse caparisons, were always richly adorned with jewels; and he constantly carried about him a sapphire of unrivalled magnitude and beauty, with which he was frequently seen to amuse himself in his tent. The same noble author has favoured us with a description, too curious to be omitted, of the tent decorated with jewels, which he caused to be fabricated, and exhibited at Herat in the following year. When Nadir Shah, says our author, an eye witness, was at Delhi, he had such a profusion of precious stones, that he ordered the superintendants of the jewel office, to make up arms and harness of every kind, inlaid with precious stones, and to ornament a large tent in the same manner. For this purpose, the best workmen that could be procured, were employed a year and two months during the

* The missing stones were afterwards found among the confiscated effects of a general officer put to death by his order. Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, page 4.

march; and when Nadir Shah arrived at Herat, he was informed that a great number of the following articles, richly inlaid with precious stones, were prepared, viz. horse harness, sword-sheaths, quivers, shields, spear cases, and maces; with Sundelees, or chairs of different sizes, and a large tent lined with jewels. The tent was ordered to be pitched in the Dewan Khaneh,* in which were placed the Tukht Taoussee, or Peacock Throne, brought from Delhi, the Tukht Nadery, with the thrones of some other monarchs, together with the inlaid Sundelees. Publication was made by beat of drum throughout the city, and the camp, that all persons had liberty to come to this magnificent exhibition, such as had never before been seen in any age or country. Nadir Shah was not pleased with the form of the tent, for, besides being lined with green satin, many of the jewels did not appear to advantage: he therefore ordered it to be taken to pieces, and a new one to be made, the top of which, for the convenience of transportation, should be separate from the walls. When he returned to Meshed from his expedition into Turan, this new tent being finished, was displayed in the same manner as the former one; but its beauty and magnificence are beyond description. The outside was covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, the lining was of violet coloured satin, upon which were representations of all the more beautiful birds and nobler beasts in the creation, with trees and flowers, the whole made of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones: and the tent poles were decorated in like manner. On both sides of the Peacock Throne was a screen, upon which were the figures of two angels in precious stones. The roof of the tent consisted of seven pieces, and when it was transported to any place, two of these pieces packed in cotton,

* The public hall of audience.

were put into a wooden chest, two of which were a sufficient load for an elephant; and the screen filled another chest. The walls of the tent, the tent poles, and the tent pins, which latter were of massy gold, loaded five more elephants; so that for the carriage of the whole were required seven elephants. This magnificent tent was displayed on all festivals in the Dewan Khaneh at Herat, during the remainder of Nadir Shah's reign. After his death, his nephew Adil Shah, and his grandson Shahrokh, whose territories were very limited, and expences enormous, had the tent taken to pieces, and dissipated the produce.*

* Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 32.

CHAPTER VI.

*Affairs at Delhi.— Unlimited power of the Nizam, who, retiring to Deccan, becomes independent in that region.—His example followed by most of the other Soubahs in their respective provinces.—Insurrection and reduction of the Rohilla Afghans.—*ABDALLAH *seizes Candahar, and invades Hindostan.—Repulsed by the Shah Zaddah.—Death of Mahommed Shah.—Death of the Nizam.—Sultan* AHMED *ascends the throne.—Fresh insurrection of the Rohillas and the Jauts.—The Mahrattas called in to the assistance of the Moguls.—Fatal effects of that imprudent measure.—Character of Ghazi o'deen the younger.—Renewed war with the Jauts.—*AHMED *deposed and blinded by Ghazi, who raises to the throne* AULUMGEER, *the second.—Repeated irruptions of* ABDALLAH. *—Murder of Aulumgeer by Gazi.—Delhi plundered by the Mahrattas.—Great battle between the Mahommedan powers and the latter, who are defeated.—*SHAH AULUM *ascends the nominal throne.—Rapid sketch of his unfortunate history.—His palace sacked and plundered by the Rohillas.—Cruel treatment of his family by* GOLAM CAUDIR.*—Himself blinded.—In him the Mogul empire expires, and with him its history terminates.*

WHEN the sovereign of Persia had evacuated Hindostan, or, to use the allegorical language of the oriental historian, when that destructive comet had rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, Mahommed and his courtiers seem to have remained for some days stupified by the magnitude of the calamity, and little public business occupied their thoughts. We have already men-

tioned the ties of consanguinity that bound together, in the strictest friendship, the Nizam and Kammer o'deen, the favourite Vizier, viz. that the Nizam's son was married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to the Nizam's daughter; and this circumstance, added to his great political talents, will account for the unlimited influence that Omrah continued to have in the government. In short, he disposed, as he pleased, of honours and places. He appointed his own son, Gazi o'deen, captain general of the empire; Ameer Khan, by his advice, was made governor of Allahabad, and Sefdar Jung, son of the deceased conspirator Sadit Khan, succeeded him in the government of Oude. No alteration was made in the other Soubahdaries, nor had there been an inclination to remove any of the distant governors, in that weakened state of the empire, did Mahommed possess the power of doing so. That enervated prince became again absorbed in the usual routine of pleasures that occupy a luxurious court, to which the Vizier himself was too much inclined; and, by degrees, even the horrors of the Persian invasion were obliterated from their minds.

In the mean time the Nizam, for whom effeminate pleasures had no allurement, had commenced his march for the Deccan, where his son Nazir Jing, taking advantage of the distractions at Delhi, had raised the standard of independence. When arrived at Hydrabad, or Golconda, the capital of his usurped domain, in extent amounting nearly to a fourth of the empire, by means of his amazing wealth he collected a vast army, and assumed all the honours, without the name, of a king. The artifice which he made use of to get his rebellious son into his power, strongly marks the character of that crafty veteran. The two armies being encamped at no great distance from each other, the Nizam, now considerably turned of ninety, affected to be so desperately

afflicted with sickness, as to be near the point of death. He confined himself to his tent so strictly, and in other respects acted the part so well, that the report of his approaching dissolution was universally believed by his own army, whence it was diffused, as an undoubted fact, through that of Nazir Jing. Urgent and repeated solicitations were sent to Nazir Jing, imploring him to visit, in this last extremity, a dying father, promising forgiveness, and assuring him of perfect safety if he might be permitted to embrace him before he expired. The advanced period of the Soubah's life rendering the story highly probable, added to the operation of natural feeling, not wholly extinguished by ambition in the breast of Nazir Jing, induced him, after long hesitation, to pay the desired visit, when, immediately on entering the tent of this expiring parent, he was arrested and thrown into chains, and in that state was, during several months, carried about with him a close prisoner, until, at length, a thorough conviction of his repentance induced that parent to liberate him, and the lesson was so effectual, that he never after was guilty of any disobedience.

The Nizam, now equally at leisure from domestic broils and court intrigues, began to employ all his great political abilities to settle on a permanent basis the affairs of the Deccan, turning out the imbecile and corrupt governors, and placing in their room men of vigour and experience. By anticipation, when treating of the European settlers in the Peninsula, we have already, in some degree, traced his progress in that region, and seen the uncontrolled authority with which he acted, especially when on his arrival at Arcot in 1743, he was so struck with the anarchy that every where prevailed, and so indignant at the multitude of petty chiefs, who had arrogated the title and honours properly belonging to himself, that he ordered the first person who should dare again

to assume those honours, to be scourged.* We have also seen that he appointed Abdallah, one of his generals, to be Nabob of the Carnatic, and on his sudden death, Anwar-odean, (the father of Mahommed Ali) who fell in a conflict fomented by the intrigues of the French. His artful expulsion of Morari Row and his Mahrattas from the Deccan, "rather by presents and promises than by arms," has been also noticed, and may be considered as a strong additional feature in the character of that extraordinary man. In fact, about this period, in consequence of the imbecility of the emperor, and the dissipation of his court, the transactions of this Omrah and his family in Deccan, form the most interesting portion of the Indian history, and that history has been already given.† The irruptions also of the Mahrattas into Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which make so prominent a feature in the history of the period, have been likewise detailed.‡

From the lethargic supineness in which the court of Delhi had been so long plunged, it was at length roused in 1744, by an insurrection of the Patans, headed by a daring chief, named Ali Mahommed, of the Rohilla tribe. This chief aimed to make himself independent in those countries between Delhi and Lahore, and extending eastward beyond the Ganges, now called Rohilcund, where his ancestors of Afganhistan had been permitted to settle, on remitting the usual subsidies to court. Those subsidies he now refused to discharge, and the Mogul governor of the district having marched against him, was defeated with great slaughter. Victory induced other Patans to enlist under the rebel banners. In a short time his army multiplied exceedingly, and the usurpation of domain became alarmingly extensive. To

* See Vol. II. p. 291.

† It is comprised in the second, third, and fourth chapters of Book V.

‡ Vol. II. p. 342.

oppose his farther progress, Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, dispatched his own son, Meer Munnoo, a youth of great bravery, at the head of an army of 30,000 men. Munnoo, crossing the Jumna, advanced to the banks of the Ganges; but found the enemy so formidable both by numbers and situation, that, uniting the prudence of age with the valour of youth, he thought a negociation safer than a battle, and conditions being agreed upon between them and signed, he led his army back to Delhi. Those conditions not being faithfully adhered to, the emperor himself in the following year, took the field with 50,000 horse. The Rohilla chief shut himself up in Bangur, a fortress of considerable strength, where he was invested by the royal army, and after a short, but bloody siege, was compelled to surrender. He was brought prisoner to Delhi; but afterwards, in the corruption of the times, and amid the distraction of the court, found means to obtain his release, and was appointed Fojedar of Serhind, where he once more appeared with increased strength in arms, and finally became the founder of the independent Rohilla government, for a long time the terror of the throne, and execration of the Moguls.*

Nadir Shah, the scourge of nations, fell a victim to the vengeance of an enraged army, in A. D. 1747. Ahmed Abdallah, one of his generals and confidentials, an Afghan by birth, had risen by that merit which, with Nadir, ever insured success, to the high office of treasurer. On the assassination of his patron, with the assistance of his own resolute tribe, he contrived to carry off three hundred camels, loaded with treasure, to the mountains of Afghanistan, where, by means of that treasure, having raised a considerable army among the hardy inhabitants

* For the above and other particulars, see Hamilton's curious "History of the Rohilla Afghans," p. 70, et seq.

of those mountains, he seized upon Candahar, and urged his claim to the sovereignty of all the provinces west of the Attock, which had formerly been ceded to Nadir by the terrified Mogul. After a slight resistance, the Soubah of Cabul was compelled to yield; he experienced a more determined opposition from Munnoo, the son of the imperial Vizier, who governed Lahore; but eventually he triumphed. The path to Delhi now lay strait before him; and the successful example of Nadir, added to the known imbecility of the government, incited him to attempt the conquest and plunder of that capital, which had begun to recover from the shock of the former invasion, and again to overflow with wealth.

The approach of Abdallah, at the head of a nation peculiarly ferocious, and burning for plunder, filled Mahommed and his court with the utmost consternation. The recruited treasury of Delhi was again thrown open, and an army of 80,000 horse was rapidly levied, at the head of which the young Sultan Ahmed, a prince of great promise, under the direction of Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, Sefdar Jung, and other distinguished officers, advanced against the invader with only 50,000 horse. The two armies came within sight of each other near Sirhind, but fearful of the event on which so great a stake depended, instead of instantly rushing to battle, both parties strongly intrenched themselves. During this awful pause, Abdallah having brought some pieces of artillery to bear on the flank of the imperial army, a random shot penetrated the tent of the Vizier, that faithful servant of the crown, in the act of performing his evening devotions. As he was equally beloved and respected by the army, of which he was in fact the commander, it was thought prudent to conceal his death, and, without delay, to attack the enemy in his entrenchments. Accordingly, at the break of dawn, the royal army was put in motion, and the troops being intrepidly led on to the assault,

by Ahmed and Munnoo, the Vizier's son, in a resistless torrent, burst into the camp of Abdallah, who, not wholly unprepared, in that situation with heroic resolution defended himself for three hours against their whole force. The vast superiority however of the imperialists in elephants, who trampling down the intrenchments, spread havoc and dismay wheresoever they moved, contributed greatly to decide the fortune of the day. The discomfited army was pursued by Munnoo several miles from the field of battle; and though some desperate efforts were afterwards made by Abdallah, to retrieve the loss he had sustained, yet he was, eventually, compelled to retreat across the Nilab with an army greatly diminished in numbers, and with the total loss of his artillery and baggage. Thus ended the first irruption of this famous chief, whom the brave Munnoo was left with a considerable army to keep in check, while Sultan Ahmed commenced his triumphant return to Delhi.

When arrived at Paniput, a city situate about eighty-five miles from the metropolis, he received intelligence of the sudden death of the emperor his father, a few days before, while sitting on the throne, and administering justice in the great Hall of Audience. Mahommed had for some time been in a declining state of health, and excessive grief, for the loss of his favourite Vizier, was supposed to have occasioned the convulsive fit, which brought on the fatal catastrophe. Ahmed immediately hastened to Delhi, where he was proclaimed emperor in April 1748, with the usual solemnities; and of a reign thus auspiciously commenced, great was the promise, and ardent the expectations.

One of the first acts of the new emperor was an offer of the post of Vizier to Nizam al Muluck; but that venerable soubah, enjoying in undisturbed tranquillity the ample sovereignty of Deccan, declined the offer, and pleaded in excuse his very advanced age, being then in his 104th year; nor did he long sur-

vive the emperor; for not many months after he expired at his palace of Aurungabad, leaving the world in astonishment at the unimpaired vigour of that genius, and those abilities, which seemed only to increase with increasing years. Neither his refusal nor his death were the cause of immoderate grief at Delhi, and shortly after that high office was conferred on Seffdar Jung, the son of Sadit, who has already made so conspicuous a figure in the pages of this history, and whose descendants in Oude, for the last half century, engross so large a share of that of the Company. Nasir Jing, the Nizam's second son, being in possession of his father's army and treasury, was, from fear rather than affection, confirmed in the Soubahdary of Deccan, and Gazi o'deen, the eldest, for the present at least, continued quietly at Delhi, in the office of paymaster and captain general.

The new emperor being in the flower of his age, surrounded by flatterers who praised his valour, and allured by all the incentives to pleasure that the most luxurious court of Asia could yield, soon relaxed from the ardour of military pursuits, and became the victim of indolence and dissipation. Seffdar Jung, the Vizier, was distinguished by no pre-eminent abilities; but conducting himself in the most haughty and arrogant manner towards the Omrahs, was universally detested by them, and his downfall universally desired. His fondness for military glory, however, had not declined like his master's, and the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes in that vicinity, having made frequent irruptions into the province of Oude, of which he was Soubah, he conducted an army against that people, and was at first defeated; but, by the permission of the emperor, having called in a body of 40,000 Mahrattas to his aid, he was eventually victorious, and revenged the injury by an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children of Afghan extraction. He

continued for some time in Oude, settling the distracted affairs of that province, and then returned to Delhi, followed by the mercenary Mahratta army, clamorous for their arrears, and eager, if refused, to repay themselves by the plunder of the environs of that opulent city. The treasury was empty, and the danger imminent. In this extremity, Gazi o'deen, who had in his public station accumulated an immense fortune, offered to discharge their arrears, which amounted to no less a sum than fifty lacks of rupees, on condition that the emperor should issue firmauns expressly appointing him Soubah of the Deccan, in the room of his brother Nazir Jing, who had recently been assassinated on the field of battle, as before related.* The emperor's acquiescence was joyfully given, their demands were settled, and Gazi o'deen immediately commenced his march for the south, attended by these very Mahrattas, who were happy to enlist under any banners where a prospect of plunder was even distantly afforded. That they ever were from authority permitted to collect the *choute*, or engaged to fight under the royal standard, was perhaps the most unfortunate occurrence that ever befel this once mighty empire; which was now torn asunder by tribes of freebooters of every denomination, Jauts, Rajapouts, Rohillas, Seiks, and the still more ferocious barbarians of Afghanistan.

In that quarter the intrepid Munnoo had, for a long time, at the head of the best disciplined troops of Hindostan, resisted all the force of Abdallah, or, to use a more familiar term, *the Abdallees*; for *Abdal*, whence his name is derived, is only the general name of the tribe to which the sovereign of Candahar belonged. The contests between the two powers were long and arduous; attended with great expenditure of blood and treasure, which

* See Vol. II. p. 308.

Ahmed could immediately supply from his inexhaustible resources at hand, but which, amidst the supineness and dissipation of the court of Delhi, could not, in an equally adequate, or rapid degree, be conveyed to Munnoo. The greatest part of Lahore was in consequence lost; and to complete the disaster, Munnoo himself, the valiant governor of that province, about this time (1753), died suddenly by a fall from his horse. Abdallah, immediately advancing with his army, seized on the capital of that province, and placed his son, then an infant, in the government of that city, under the tuition of an experienced omrah, fully determined, in the following year, to push on with his innumerable legions to the gates of Delhi.

The importance of the family of the Nizam, at this period of the empire, renders any apology for alluding to the individuals of it unnecessary. It has been already stated, that Ghazi o'deen, the late captain-general, after discharging the arrears due from the Vizier to the Mahrattas, had departed for the Deccan, aided by a formidable body of that nation, to take possession of his government, usurped by Salabad-Jing, assisted by the French, after the murder of the unfortunate Nazir Jing. Having entered Aurungabad at the head of 150,000 men, and being well acquainted with the power and influence of the French in his brother's army, he from thence dispatched emissaries with splendid offers of money and titles to M. Dupleix at Pondicherry, if he would recall M. Bussy and his army from the service of Salabad-Jing, in which project he would probably have been successful had not the latter took an effectual method to prevent it, by causing his brother to be poisoned, and that by the agency of his mother, then at Aurungabad, who sent him a plate of victuals prepared, as she told him, by her own hands. To such dreadful extremes in eastern countries does ambition drive her

infuriated votaries! The Mahratta army immediately dispersed, and Salabad Jing continued in the usurped sovereignty of Deccan, without any dread of the threatened vengeance of the court of Delhi, to the consideration of whose conduct we are recalled by the consequences of the calamitous event just recited.

We are now to introduce upon the theatre of affairs, one of the most extraordinary characters that ever existed, a youth of fifteen, the only son of the abovementioned Ghazi o'deen, and on whom the title and honours of his father were immediately conferred by the emperor, at the earnest solicitation of Seffdar Jung, the vizier, who admired his great talents, and who was too soon to become the victim of them. The young Ghazi, at that early age, possessed all the high accomplishments, abilities, and vices of his father and grandfather. In him, the most open unreserved manners were combined with the deepest dissimulation; unbounded generosity, and the most undaunted fortitude, with the basest treachery and ingratitude; he had a head to project, a genius to advance, and, if necessary, a hand to execute the most daring and criminal designs. He seemed as if born to control thrones, and direct empires; and he mounted at once to the pinnacle of ambition and grandeur, in assuming the reins of that of Hindostan. This chosen youth, on being appointed by the emperor captain-general, as before observed, at the intercession of Seffdar Jung, immediately used all his influence with his sovereign to get his patron removed from that high office, and succeeded. But Seffdar Jung was himself too high-spirited to submit quietly to this disgrace, and flew into open rebellion. He engaged in his service an army of Jauts under their prince Suraje Mull, and advancing at their head to Delhi, shut up the emperor and his juvenile captain-general within its walls. Ghazi defended the city with great bravery for three months, at the end of which

period he issued forth, engaged, and completely routed the ejected Vizier, who fled precipitately to his government of Oude, leaving Suraje Mull and his Jauts to sustain the whole weight of the imperial vengeance. To chastise that turbulent race, Akebut Mahmud, an experienced general, was dispatched at the head of a considerable army; but by avoiding a general engagement, and retiring into and under the protection of their numerous forts, they found means to baffle all his efforts to subdue them.

In the mean time the power of young Ghazi, in consequence of his late success, became almost unlimited at the court of Delhi, especially as the emperor, satisfied with the laurels which he had obtained when he drove back the Abdallees from the western frontier, remained continually plunged in intemperance, and left every thing at his disposal. He was not, however, without a rival almost as young, as ardent, and as ambitious as himself. This rival was the new Vizier, the youngest son of the celebrated Kammir o'deen, the favourite of the late, as the son was of the present emperor, and he burned with secret envy at beholding the almost sovereign authority with which the latter was invested. He took every opportunity of calumniating him to the emperor, and filled the royal breast with the darkest suspicions of the man whom he had thus imprudently exalted to premature honours. An opportunity soon offered of removing his hated rival from his presence, and, as he fondly hoped, for ever!

No very signal success had crowned the imperial army employed against the Jauts, who were now become a formidable people, especially when their forces were united in the field, and they had gradually obtained possession of the country extending for many miles round Agra, although they were not yet masters of that capital. The great body of the Mogul army being engaged at a distance in Lahore, watching the Abdallees, the forces

under Akebut were by no means adequate to their complete reduction, and great bodies now began to appear in the field, and seemed to bid the Mogul general defiance. To a foe so near, so menacing, and so dangerous, it was necessary to give an immediate and decisive check; in this extremity, Ghazi proposed to the emperor to call in the assistance of the Mahrattas, at that time in the vicinity of Agra, and offered to lead them in person against the insulting foe. The advice, however fatal in its consequences to the empire, was acquiesced in, and the offer of Ghazi's personal services was accepted with insidious joy by Ahmed and his jealous Vizier. The Mahrattas, at that time in high hostility with the Jauts, readily consented to the terms proposed; and 40,000 of that nation, under their generals Mulhar and Ragonaut Row, but subject to the control of Ghazi, advancing into that beautiful country, scattered death and desolation wheresoever they came; discomfiting whatever bodies of troops appeared in arms to oppose them, and driving the rest back into their strong forts. To the attack of those forts, artillery became necessary, and with that article the Mogul camp was but indifferently provided. Ghazi immediately dispatched an officer to Delhi, with a request that the royal park of artillery might be forwarded to him without a moment's delay. This request, to his astonishment, was peremptorily refused, and the officer, in addition, reported that all Delhi was flying to arms, as if an enemy were at the gates.

Shortly after an intercepted letter, written by the emperor himself, and intended for Suraje Mull, unravelled the whole mystery, and opened to him his alarming situation. In fact, during his absence, the implacable Vizier had too well succeeded in impressing the king's mind with ideas of the confirmed disloyalty of Ghazi. His rebellious designs, he affirmed, were glar-

ingly evident throughout the whole of his conduct, both in the cabinet and the field. He represented his daring ambition, as aimed at the imperial throne itself; "the Mahrattas were already at his nod; and the royal artillery might soon be pointed against the castle of Delhi." The intercepted letter encouraged Suraje Mull to hold resolutely out to the last extremity; it informed him that the imperial guard, with a numerous army, had taken the field, and that the emperor was approaching to attack the traitor in the rear, while at an appointed signal, the Jaut prince should issue from his strong forts, and attack him in front. On perusing these dispatches, the lofty soul of Ghazi was filled with indignation, and burned with a desire of revenge. He instantly raised the various sieges in which he was engaged, and with his whole army re-crossed the Jumna, determined to give battle to the king and vizier, who were leisurely marching down between the rivers in fancied security. Daring in design, and prompt in execution, Ghazi was not a person to rest satisfied with half measures. With the reign of the one, and the influence of the other, he saw that his own safety was incompatible, and he was firmly resolved, by desperate measures, to put a period to both. On receiving intelligence of his approach, the emperor halted at Secundra, and by liberal promises and munificent offers, endeavoured to reclaim his rebel minister to a sense of duty. The only answer which Ghazi condescended to return, was the king's own letter to Suraje Mull, and a spirited remonstrance against his base ingratitude to a man, whose only crime was his being engaged in fighting the battles of the empire. He inveighed against the meanness that could listen to the perfidious insinuation of a sycophant, to his prejudice, and justified his being in arms against a prince, whose imbecility rendered him unworthy longer to hold the reins of government. Both the king and the vizier were

thunder-struck at this bold strain of invective, and knowing themselves unable to cope with him in the field; unaided by the Jauts, retreated in haste to Delhi. They were, however, pursued by Ghazi with such celerity, that he gained possession of one of the gates which they had just passed, and the fugitives, retiring into the citadel, were there so closely invested by the rebellious omrah, that they were in a short time compelled to surrender. After upbraiding the emperor with his ingratitude, and the vizier with his rashness, he ordered the latter to immediate execution; and committed Ahmed himself to the custody of an officer, on whose steady vigilance he could rely. The next day the eyes of the king were blinded with an iron heated red hot, which necessarily terminated his government, after a reign of seven years, only distinguished by a transient display of vigour and fortitude at its commencement. This calamitous event took place about the close of the year 1755.

AULUMGEER THE SECOND.

After the atrocious act that consigned Ahmed Shah to blindness and oblivion, Ghazi o'deen raised to the vacant throne a grandson of Bahadur Shah, by the name and title of Aulumgeer the Second. He was immediately appointed vizier to the new emperor, and reigned with despotic sway both over him and the empire. Thus held in absolute bondage, and sensible of his chains, the weak monarch struggled in vain to get free from those manacles, which every effort to release himself only rivetted the closer. He never reflected, that the same power which exalted him to the imperial musnud, could, if so inclined, in an instant, hurry him back to that prison, in whose cheerless solitude he had already passed so many disconsolate years. As Ghazi was universally detested, a large party of omrahs sided

with the king, but being equally dreaded as detested, few opportunities occurred of publicly evincing that rooted aversion which his tyrannical conduct had excited. All his measures, however, were secretly thwarted and undermined by the court and its sycophants; and many projects, that were even fraught with important benefit to the public, were relinquished, because they originated with him. Such an order of things could not last long. The secret cabals of his enemies, by no means escaped the penetrating eyes of the sagacious young vizier, and he was silently meditating a dreadful retaliation, when the alarming intelligence received of the mighty preparations of Abdallah for the invasion of Hindostan, roused the court of Delhi from their culpable insensibility to the public dangers that threatened the empire, and for a time suspended the animosity of faction. Aulumgeer possessed neither capacity of mind, nor vigour of body for military affairs; it was, therefore, determined that Ali Gohar, his eldest son, the present SHAH AULUM, accompanied and directed by the vizier, should march with all the forces that could be raised to oppose the progress of that powerful chieftain.

The treasury was exhausted by the unbounded profusion of the late and present emperor. With great difficulty an army of 80,000 men was raised for the expedition; but when they had advanced about forty miles beyond Sirhind, Abdallah was found to be too firmly established in his new conquests, to allow any hopes of a successful attack by troops hastily raised and ill disciplined, upon the veteran bands that had served under Nadir Shah. The whole result of the campaign was a treaty that only for a short time retarded the progress of Abdallah into Hindostan, and the solemnizing of a marriage contracted at a former period by Ghazi, with the daughter of the deceased Munnoo. Ghazi well knew that, if defeated by Abdallah, his power and

influence were for ever gone. By dexterously warding off the blow, which was to subvert the empire, he saved himself also from destruction.

On the return of the imperial army to Delhi, the conduct of the vizier, both to the emperor and the omrahs, was marked by more outrageous insolence than ever. He confined the former within the walls of the citadel, and he dispatched, by poison or the dagger, all his enemies among the latter. Never were so many crimes crowded into so short an interval. At length wearied out with his sufferings, and his crown having become a burthen to him, Aulumgeer adopted the desperate measure of privately inviting Abdallah to advance with his army towards Delhi, and release him from his prosecutor. A well-concerted plot was laid for his destruction, which, however, by his profound craft he evaded, although the empire sunk in the dreadful conflict. To the command of a Rohilla chief, named Nidjib Dowlah, originally patronized by Ghazi, but whom his arrogance had disgusted, was intrusted a large division of the imperial army, that marched out to give Abdallah battle. Ghazi himself commanded the remainder. In the mock encounter that followed, he was deserted by the Rohilla, and the greater part of the army, and thus fell into the hands of Abdallah, whom, however, he afterwards found means to propitiate, though he was for the present deprived of the post of vizier.

The Afghan hordes being of a more ferocious disposition than the Persian troops of Nadir Shah, their irruption into the city of Delhi, which immediately took place, was attended by circumstances proportionably more disgusting and barbarous. In the space of nearly twenty years, amidst all its distractions, that metropolis had in great part recovered from that ruinous calamity, and though its wealth in jewels was at this time far inferior,

yet commerce and the residence of the court had caused it again to overflow with treasure, which those savages extorted from the inhabitants, by every mode of refined torture that ingenuity could devise. Not satisfied with plundering the living; with robbing the mosques and the palaces of their gaudy spoil, they carried their depredations into the regions of the grave itself, and robbed the sepulchres of the emperors, and many pious saints, that had been held sacred for ages, of their gold and silver ornaments. For two months was the city subjected to these horrors, after which period the invader marched towards Agra, in order to punish and raise contributions among the Jauts, in which he was not altogether successful; for though he spread wide the scene of ravage and desolation through the open country, that people, for the most part, evaded his vengeance and extortions, by retiring to the strong holds, in which that district abounds. At Agra he was repulsed by the Mogul governor; but he wreaked his indignation upon the city of Muttra, one of the most ancient and venerable seats of the Hindoo religion, and after sacking and plundering it, left it a heap of ruins. He had also dispatched Ghazi, whom, in spite of the emperor's remonstrances he had again raised to the Vizirat, with an army into Dooab, or the interamnian region, to collect the tributary sums due to the government from that country and Oude. The Soubahdar of Oude, was that Sujah Dowlah, so well known to the English, who with the Rohillas, his allies, had already commenced his march for the frontiers, determined to oppose, if necessary, force by force. After some fruitless efforts to separate the united chiefs, and thinking himself not equal to their combined armies, the prudent Vizier compromised the business with them for a few lacks of rupees, and with these, and the spoils which he had otherwise procured, returned to Abdallah.

That invader who acted, while he staid in Hindostan, in all respects as its absolute sovereign, having received intelligence of some incursions into his dominions from Western Persia, was now preparing for his return to Candahar. As a balance to the Vizier's power, whom he had exalted to that high station solely on account of his transcendant abilities, in consequence of the earnest supplication of the emperor, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah prince of the Omrahs, with orders to protect the king against his machinations, and having celebrated his nuptials with a daughter of Mahommed Shah, immediately commenced his retreat. In his progress to Candahar, he left his son Timur Shah, who was about the same time married to a daughter of Shah Aulum, with a large army at Lahore, and by this double alliance, his future views upon the throne of Hindostan may be clearly discerned.

The balance intended against the power of the Vizier, by the appointment of Nidjib al Dowlah to the high station of Ameer al Omrah, proved ineffectual towards restraining his arrogance and his cruelties, which were now carried to a greater height than ever. As, for supporting his usurped authority, it was necessary to keep in pay a considerable army of Mahrattas, and the treasury being drained, enormous sums were to be raised for its support, they could only be procured by the most oppressive measures from the toiling mechanic, by excessive burdens on commerce, and by confiscating the estates of the obnoxious nobility. Loud complaints and invectives resounded from every quarter, but there was no one to redress the grievance; for the king, with his son Ali Gohar, groaned under the same bondage, and were kept state prisoners by this daring young ruffian, while Nidjib al Dowlah was compelled to consult his personal safety, by retiring to his jaghire at Secundra, in the Dooab. The young

and spirited prince, after several attempts to make his escape, did indeed at length effect it, at the head of a chosen band devoted to his service, by valiantly cutting a passage with his sabre through thousands of troops sent by Ghazi to blockade the palace, and endeavoured, when at liberty, to rouze against the traitor the various country powers ; but his deficiency in the great sinew of war, MONEY, added to the terror of Ghazi's name, and his formidable Mahratta army, prevented any effectual interference on their part. He resolved, therefore, to fly for protection to Nidjib, at Secundra, who received him with respect, but at present could be of no essential service to the royal cause.

In A. D. 1759, Abdallah, unsatiated with Indian spoil, and having settled the affairs of his own kingdom, again descended from the mountains of Afghanistan into the plains of Hindostan. He seemed to consider that devoted country, at once, as an inexhaustible source for recruiting his treasury, and as a field for the discipline of his hardy warriors. His present visit, however, was not *wholly* the effect of avarice, or ambition ; for the restless tribes of Mahrattas were now making rapid advances towards his dominions on the eastern frontier : indeed about this time their armies were in motion in all quarters, and their aim seemed to be to exterminate the Mahommedan princes, and upon the ruin of their authority, to erect a sovereignty of their own. To oppose a power whose views upon that empire were so similar to those entertained by himself, and once more settle the distracted affairs of Delhi, concerning which he had regular intelligence from Lahore, doubtless accelerated his march eastward, which was at this time made with all the forces of his empire, and with energy mighty as the interests at stake. We must here for a short interval, leave him pursuing his victorious career across

the mountains, and driving his enemies before him in every engagement, to return, for the last time, to Ghazi, and the unfortunate monarch his prisoner.

The situation of that minister was now desperate indeed! After having been so repeatedly pardoned and promoted; having violated all confidence, and trampled on all gratitude, every hope of appeasing Abdallah must have vanished from his mind. He had long at an heavy expence maintained in his pay, as if for the security of the empire, but principally to promote his own ambitious projects, and to maintain his own usurped authority, a large body of Mahrattas, the decided enemies both of Abdallah and the Mogul dynasty. With these barbarous hordes he had inundated all the environs of Delhi; with these he had driven Nidjib from its walls, and held in defiance the menacing Soubahs of Oude and Bengal. He *suspected* that Aulumgeer had again invited the Abdallees; he *knew* that, by his emissaries, he had endeavoured to detach from his service the army which he had raised to defend the throne in every preceding extremity. He knew also that before the myriads of Abdallah, that army would be unable to stand. The dream of greatness was over, and he was resolved to terminate his sanguinary career, with a blow that should shake Hindostan to its center, and remind ungrateful monarchs of their doom. He resolved to murder the sovereign whom he had created, and to deprive Abdallah of, at least, half his promised spoil, by permitting his ferocious Mahrattas to ravage the capital, in which he had so long borne the chief sway.

Among his other weaknesses Aulumgeer was addicted to superstition; but it was an amiable weakness; and it added greatly to the atrocity of the murder, that, during an act which strongly marked his piety, the crime was accomplished. Being

informed that a fakeer, or Mahommedant saint, highly venerable on account of his religious attainments, had arrived at Delhi, he expressed an anxious wish to visit the holy man ; for saints in India disdain to visit even the palaces of kings. Every thing being previously prepared in the apartments of the pretended saint, as he slowly approached the reverend impostor, two assassins rushed from behind a screen, and with their scymetars divided his head from his body. The headless trunk was exposed two days on the sands of the Jumna, and then interred without regal honours. This event took place towards the close of 1759. The regicide then proceeded to the state prison of the princes of the house of Timur, and taking out thence a grandson of Kambuksh, the youngest son of Aurungzeb, placed him on the throne, with the title of Jehaun the Second ; but he is not reckoned among the number of emperors. The gates of the city were now opened to the Mahrattas, who renewed, with increased horrors within its walls, the dreadful work of devastation and death, and for many days continued their merciless career of blood and plunder, till intelligence of the near approach of the Abdallees compelled them to depart. Ghazi himself, after having introduced them to the spoil, had for security retired, by that chief's permission, to a strong fortress of Suraje Mull, and there, whatever atrocities, in a less public character, he might afterwards commit, history loses sight of him.

Abdallah found Delhi in a dreadful situation, from having been so long exposed to the desolating fury and pillage of the Mahrattas. His own exactions severely added to its misfortunes ; and so great were they, and so unparalleled the sufferings of the inhabitants that, in the paroxysm of despair, they flew to arms. More stern than Nadir, because exposed to more

imminent danger than his predecessor, Abdallah gave orders for a general massacre, which lasted without intermission for seven days. At that period, when nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants had thus perished, and most of the public buildings were on fire, to add to the confusion, and increase the miseries of the wretched Delhians, immense bodies of Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, had arrived in the environs, to share with Abdallah the spoils of the burning metropolis. Undaunted in danger, like his great example, after checking the ravages of the sword and the conflagration, he marched out of the city, and gave them battle. After a desperate conflict fought about two coss from Delhi, the Mahrattas were defeated, and pursued for many leagues with great slaughter. Their defeat, however, was only the awakening signal, the grand tocsin, for the assemblage and union of their whole power, under all their chiefs, in order to crush the bold invader. This design they probably would have been able to accomplish, by cutting off his supplies, and, by repeated assaults, wearying out and diminishing an army that was too remote from its resources to recruit itself, had not, at length, all the great Mahommedan powers of India also taken the alarm, and however varying their interest, or individually hostile to Abdallah, seen the urgent necessity of joining him, or being crushed themselves. The Mahommedan religion and government established in India for eight centuries, at an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, must be subverted, or the vast power of the Mahrattas be annihilated by one decisive blow. The circumstance of two such mighty potentates rushing to arms, exhibits a spectacle truly great; but outraged humanity cannot contemplate it without horror! While they are mutually preparing for the mighty conflict which is to decide the fate of India, it is necessary that we should

for a short time, attend to the adventures of a personage of no small importance at the present moment, that Ali Gohar, who, we have seen, after valiantly cutting his way through the besieging army of Ghazi, retired to the jaghire of Nidjib al Dowlah, for protection from the rage of the blood-stained foe of his family.

After staying some months with that protector, finding him unwilling, or unable, in a more public and decisive manner to espouse his cause, the royal exile, at the head of his few determined adherents, faithful to him in every difficulty, and not, perhaps, uncheered with hopes of the approaching dawn of better days, pursued his journey to Oude, where he was received by Sujah Dowlah with the greatest respect, and even with regal honours; though that omrah also at present declined taking any active public part in his affairs. He presented him, however, with a handsome nuzzar of elephants, horses, and money.

In the anxious and laudable desire to emancipate his royal parent from the tyranny of Ghazi, the prince next repaired to Allahabad, and there, in Mahommed Kuli Khan, its viceroy, he found an ardent and strenuous supporter. That enterprising chief, however, recommended, in the first instance, his seizing upon the rich provinces of Bahar and Bengal, with whose tributary wealth, so vast and so long owing, they might be able to raise an army adequate to the great object in view. The proposition was acceded to, and being afterwards imparted to Sujah Dowlah, received his consent, accompanied with the promise of a considerable body of troops, in addition to those of Mahommed. Towards the close of the year 1758, the expedition, highly formidable to any troops but those with thom they were to engage, commenced. Unfortunately for him, at this time the

English army under Colonel Clive, connected by the closest alliance with the government of Bengal, which had for some time, as we have before related, assumed independence,* presented too firm a front to permit his eventual success, even with all his high and imperial claims. This is not the proper place to enter upon the particulars of that campaign. It will be sufficient at present to observe that, notwithstanding some partial triumphs in Bahar, in Bengal he was wholly unsuccessful; and that after having surrendered himself to the victorious British army, and having solicited their military aid in his behalf without effect, as they deemed it not prudent at that time to interfere in his concerns, he once more retired to his protector at Oude. Intelligence, however, of the assassination of Aulumgeer having arrived during the expedition, he caused a throne to be erected, which he publicly ascended, and was proclaimed emperor at Patna. He ever afterwards acted, and was addressed in that capacity. One of the first acts of his new authority was the appointment of Sujah Dowlah to be perpetual vizier of the empire, a situation equally gratifying to the ambition of the one, and beneficial to the interests of the other. He resolutely, however, refused to accept the pressing invitation which, about this period, came from Abdallah, under that chief's auspices publicly to assume the diadem at Delhi. His spirit at this time seemed too great to owe the crown of Hindostan to any other source than his high birth, and the exertion of his own valour.

The grand conflict, as yet unrivalled in the history of India, in respect to the number and power of the combatants, and which was to consign its throne to a Mahommedan, or native power, was now rapidly approaching. After his late triumph

* Under Allaverdy Khan. See Vol. II. p. 341.

and pursuit of the Mahratta army, Abdallah had returned to Delhi, and releasing from the weight of his regal cares the sceptered pageant raised to the throne by Ghazi, by consigning him to his ancient abode, the state-prison of his family, dispatched thence the invitation to Shah Aulum, which we have noticed, publicly to ascend the throne of his ancestors at that capital; but which under such ill-omened auspices, that prudent prince declined. The Mahratta armies under all their most famous chiefs, but subject to the supreme controul of Suddasheo, otherwise the Bhow, were now rolling in a vast body towards Delhi; in their progress they summoned the Jaut rajah to join them. Suraje Mull, although a Hindoo, yet jealous of the Mahratta power, at first hesitated; but on their threatening to ravage his country with fire and sword, and actually commencing those devastations, he reluctantly joined them with 50,000 of his troops. With this addition, their force amounted to 200,000 men, for the most part cavalry. On the near approach of this enormous mass to Delhi, Abdallah thought it prudent to evacuate that city, and retired across the Jumna, to a country more open for the conveyance of supplies to his army, and more practicable for his junction with the Mahommedan forces, which he expected from the north and east of Delhi. Among these were the Rohillas, the troops of Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the Patan chief of Douab, and other mussulman princes, neighbouring on the Ganges, who had been long subject to the depredations of the Mahrattas.

The Mahratta general soon after advanced, and took possession of the imperial city, in which but a slender garrison had been left by Abdallah, and which was again subjected to all the horrors of former devastation, with great aggravation. The Bhow himself was as mean as he was avaricious, and amidst his other enormities, tore down the cieling of the grand hall of audience, which

was of massy silver, and sent it to the mint, with all the utensils, as chairs, tables, of that precious metal, which after such repeated spoliation yet remained in that once august abode. All the branches of the royal family, as well as their dependants, were, also, meanly plundered of their property and jewels. But what pen can describe the unequalled sufferings of the poor Delhians themselves, in this last extremity of human wretchedness. After being stript of all their little remaining property, and even their very clothes, by a sordid foe, to whom no species of plunder came amiss, they were unmercifully scourged with whips by their insensible tormentors, and driven before them naked through the streets, a famished and frantic throng. Many perished under the hands of their oppressors, and many more rushed voluntarily upon that death which is the last refuge of agonizing humanity. Provisions at length totally failing, to avoid the fate of thousands daily falling around them, the merciless barbarians were compelled to quit the city, and immediately proceeded to Karnaul, where they intrenched themselves on the same ground, formerly occupied by Mahommed, while Abdallah wisely selected the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shah. Here both armies lay in their intrenchments several days, in dreadful preparation, during which, by the mediation of Sujah Dowlah, some overtures were made for peace, but ineffectually. Their mutual differences had risen too high to admit of compromise; and the demands on either side were too extravagant to be complied with.

The whole surrounding country had been so recently and utterly exhausted by the large armies, of whose contests it had been the fatal *aceldama*, that provisions adequate to the support of such immense bodies of troops, were obliged to be brought from very distant quarters, and the active Abdallee cavalry had contrived to cut off several large convoys bearing provisions to

the Mahratta camp, from Deccan, escorted by considerable bodies of troops, while his own was amply supplied by the Rohillas, and his Mahommedan allies on the banks of the Ganges. At length the Mahrattas being reduced to the greatest streights, came to the resolution of giving battle to the enemy, and the whole army marched out of their entrenchments, and advanced towards the enemy's lines. The Abdallees also marched out with alacrity to meet them, and on the morning of the 14th January, 1761, the dreadful battle took place, about two coss distant from the camp of the Abdallees, by whom the attack was commenced with such irresistible impetuosity as prevented their making effectual use of the formidable train of artillery which was drawn out in their front. The dreadful concussion was felt through the whole extent of their line. The Mahrattas, however, fully aware of their desperate situation, that if death threatened before, famine hovered behind, and that their sabres alone must cut their way to safety and to glory, fought for a long time with obstinate bravery, and drove the Abdallees back almost to their camp; but at this moment of apparent triumph a cannon ball struck off the head of the Bhow; the Jauts, who had never heartily joined in their cause, deserted them in a body; and Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, and the other Mahommedan allies pouring down with all their troops on their exposed flank, compelled the great body of them to give way; though in various divisions of that vast army the most heroic deeds were achieved, worthy of themselves and the object, an imperial throne, for which they contended. This is demonstrated by the fact, that out of the numerous distinguished generals by whom that army was conducted to the field, scarcely one, except Mulhar Row, who fled upon the first charge, returned to his native country. The carnage that commenced

after the battle was horrible, for no body was inclined to give quarter to them, whose unrelenting rage spared no body; and wheresoever they were pursued in their flight among the towns and villages, they were universally massacred. 50,000 are said to have fallen in the action, and 30,000 more during the pursuit, which lasted three days, the whole line of their flight being stained with blood. With respect to the plunder taken in the Mahratta camp, it exceeded all calculation, comprising their whole artillery, tents, elephants, horses, camels, the treasure collected in their progress from Deccan, and the still more enormous sums extorted from the miserable Delhians.

To that ill-fated city, after the pursuit, Abdallah immediately repaired, and in imperial pomp received the congratulations of all the great Mussulman lords, his allies, on the utter subversion of the power of the implacable enemies of their religion and government, the Mahrattas. The empire of Timur was now his own, but he seemed inclined to permit the existing branch of that dynasty to enjoy the throne as his deputies, paying him a large annual tribute; and he not only dispatched heralds with renewed invitations to Shah Aulum to return to Delhi, but placed on it his son JEWAN BUKHT, as regent, till his father should return from Bengal, where he was engaged in new schemes of conquest. On Sujah Dowlah, by whose intrepid valour, exerted at a most critical moment, principally, the victory was gained, he bestowed magnificent presents, and confirmed him in the exalted post of perpetual Vizier of the empire. After staying some time there to settle, on the best basis possible, the distracted affairs of the country, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah, governor of the city, and guardian of the royal family, and returned about the close of the year 1761, to Candahar; nor from that period till his death, which happened in 1773, owing to distractions nearer

home, and the firm barrier presented to his farther progress by the Seiks, was the capital cursed with another visit from that scourge of Hindostan.

SHAH AULUM.

We are now arrived at that distressing part of the Mogul history which exhibits the singular phænomenon of an EMPEROR without an EMPIRE, and that emperor himself residing many years during the early part of his reign a voluntary exile from his capital in an obscure corner of his nominal dominions, and a pensioner on the bounty of a foreign power. Although the detail of these matters more properly belongs to the history of the English successes in India than to the General History, it will be necessary to present the reader with a summary statement of facts that led to such an extraordinary predicament in one of the princes of Timur's family.

The first attempt of Shah Aulum to possess himself of Bahar and Bengal, or rather of their wealth, by which be hoped to reinstate himself in splendour at Delhi, has been already mentioned as wholly unsuccessful. On the return of Sujah Dowlah to Oude in 1762, loaded with honours, and flushed with recent victory, with what ever awe the British character might have before inspired him, that awe was now in a great degree effaced, and under the sanction of the imperial name and imperial banners he hoped with his mighty armies to overwhelm them as he had overwhelmed the myriad foe at Paniput. The expulsion of Meer Cossim from the Nabobship of Bengal was the ostensible reason alleged by the Vizier for this unprovoked attack upon them. To him, Cossim, after the inhuman massacre in cold blood of the English gentlemen at Patna,* had fled with the remnant

* See an account of this sanguinary affair in Vansittart's "Bengal." Vol. III. p. 375.

of his army, and by him was for a time protected, but afterwards plundered and deserted. Immense preparations were made for an expedition which was to insure to him the sovereignty of Bahar and Bengal, and expel the English from the Indian shores for ever. Early in 1764, those mighty preparations being complete, the armies of the two soubahs commenced their march southward. The respectable native historian of Bengal, GHOLAM HOSSAIN, describing the progress of the march, mentions their numbers as exceeding calculation, covering the country as far as the eye could reach; but from the ignorance of the generals, and want of discipline, murdering one another. It was not an army, but rather a moving nation.* With this undisciplined rabble, and with Clive's victory, at Plassey, fresh in his memory, did Sujah Dowlah hope to conquer a British army!

Among that rabble, however, were doubtless intermingled many battalions of the Rohilla and Mogul cavalry, that fought so valiantly against the Mahratta host; by some of his more experienced generals he was strenuously advised from the immense mass in motion to select those squadrons, and with those alone, and his artillery, which was numerous and well served, to advance against the foe; but Sujah Dowlah despised his enemy too much to take their advice, and entered Bahar at the head of this disorderly band, "spreading desolation," says Hossain, "for miles around their line of march."† The English army under Major Carnac, greatly diminished in numbers, and worn down with excessive fatigue during the late arduous campaign, in which Meer Cossim had been driven before them through a great part of Bengal and Bahar, and also not a little alarmed at the approach of this new and formidable foe—thought it prudent now to fall

* Gholam Hossain translated by Captain Scott, p. 437.

† Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

back from Buxar to Patna, near which city, finding themselves unable to keep the field against such an immense superiority, they threw up intrenchments. Inspired with new confidence by their retreat, the allies kept up a vigorous pursuit, and having arrived at Phulwaurree, about four miles distant from Patna, they there pitched their tents. Early on the following morning they advanced, and in the course of that day made three successive assaults on the English lines, which however, being defended with equal vigour and more dexterity than the attack was made, they were as many times repulsed with immense slaughter. Towards evening Sujah Dowlah with his discomfited army retreated to their encampment at Phulwaurree, extremely indignant at the conduct of Meer Cossim, who had all the day kept at a very respectful distance from the scene of action, nor had even quitted his station when required by signals to advance.* The Vizier was himself wounded in the action, and was in consequence for some days confined to his tent. On his recovery he attempted nothing decisive, but encamped nearer to the south of the city, and contented himself with occasionally parading before the English lines in all the pomp of Asiatic military splendour. After a month had thus elapsed in inactivity, as the season of the rains was rapidly approaching, this vain glorious chief retreated to Buxar, where he continued, intending to return to the attack of Patna, when the wet season should be over.

During all this time Shah Aulum was treated with great neglect and indifference by the arrogant Vizier; in short, as the mere imperial pageant of his ambitious projects. Sick of such empty homage, and such lukewarm friendship, he became impatient to throw himself upon the generosity of the British commander. He even sent a message to that purport by our author,

* Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

Gholam Hossain, who was upon the spot, and in his suit; but Major Carnac respectfully replied, "that his majesty was not then in a situation to act from himself, and that therefore the English could enter into no negociation with him." Neither was his conduct to Meer Cossim marked with any more feeling or respect: he had agreed to pay the Vizier eleven lacks of rupees monthly during the war, but that war becoming greatly protracted, the Vizier thought proper to anticipate payment, and on some trivial pretence confined Meer Cossim, and seized upon all his property, which was immense; he being supposed to have carried out of Bengal the amount of five millions, in gold and jewels. The day of severe retribution, however, was at hand, when he himself was doomed to become an abject dependent upon the bounty of others!

The rains being at length over, Colonel Hector Munro, who had superseded Major Carnac, and brought a great accession of strength to the army, not only in point of numbers, but of vigorous discipline, which it also wanted, commenced his march for Buxar, where the enemy in their turn had strongly intrenched themselves. Buxar is situated on the river Carumnassa, on the frontiers of Bahar, 100 miles above Patna. On receiving this intelligence Sujah Dowlah sent a large detachment of Mogul cavalry to harass his line of march; but the English army was not to be retarded or dismayed. They had with them only ten days provision, and they had resolved in that space to conquer or die. The Vizier's troops, added to those of Cossim and the emperor, composed an army of 50,000 men; that of the English scarcely amounted to 5000 men, of which 1200 were Europeans.

On his arrival at Buxar, Colonel Munro encamped on the borders of a morass, which now only separated the hostile armies. Two days they remained inactive; on the third the

Vizier changing his resolution of avoiding a general engagement, marched out of his intrenchments at the head of the Mogul cavalry, and took his station at some distance on the right of the English army. His minister, Beny Bahadur, occupied a ruined village on the bank of the Ganges, on their left. Eight battalions of sepoys, dressed and disciplined by Cossim in the European manner, with a numerous train of artillery, formed the front line, supported in the rear by a large body of cavalry. A heavy fire of cannon and musquetry immediately commenced, and was kept up for a long period, and with great spirit on both sides. The Vizier, in the mean time, pouring down with his cavalry, harassed the British in flank, and the Duranny horse at one time penetrated the line of major Munro's cavalry, and threw them into momentary disorder; but all was quickly restored by the continued, well-directed, redoubled fire of the English artillery, which mowed down whole squadrons, and overwhelmed horse and infantry with promiscuous destruction. In the height and ardour of the conflict, Munro, calm and collected, detached a strong body with a view to dislodge Beny Bahadur from the village on the left, which was happily effected, and the victorious squadron impetuously rushing forward, entered, and plundered, the camp of the Vizier, which threw the whole field into irretrievable confusion, as the Duranny and other mercenary troops, despairing of victory, now pressed forwards with equal eagerness to partake of the spoil, and repay themselves by plundering the rich tents and baggage of their employer. The heroes, however, who had so arduously fought on that day, soon arrived to claim the just reward of triumphant valour, and the barbarous hordes quickly disappeared. In the general flight that now took place, Sujah Dowlah, left almost alone by his perfidious auxiliaries, was reluctantly compelled to follow the route of his retreating army, nor did he

think himself in perfect security till with a few followers he arrived at Allahabad. This celebrated battle, decisive of the claims of Cossim to Bengal, and of the power of the native princes to contend with European armies, took place in October 1764: 6,000 of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and 130 pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of military stores were taken on the field. In the intrenched camp, notwithstanding the depredations made by those Afghan marauders, still an immense booty remained to the victors in money, bullion, jewels, and every species of valuable property, for, according to our author, "the cantonments resembled a populous city rather than a camp."*

The emperor, with this fresh proof of the invincibility of the English before him, and being once more the master of his own actions, again applied to the British general for that protection which it was now thought proper to grant him. He was accordingly received in the British camp with the honours due to his high rank, and attended Colonel Munro to Benares, where a handsome stipend was allowed for his maintenance till the pleasure of the governor and council at Calcutta could be known concerning his future disposal. In the mean time the war with Sujah Dowlah was vigorously prosecuted, and with such unvaried success, that after having in vain called to his aid Rohillas and Mahrattas, the warriors on the Ganges, and the chiefs on the Jumna, he found himself stript of all his dominions, and was, in his turn, ultimately compelled to throw himself on the clemency of the victors. General Carnac, having resumed the supreme command, received the fallen chief with respect; and in the end he was, from motives of sound policy, restored to all his territories, except the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which, with a revenue of 22 lacks, or 220,000l. were conferred on the

* Golam Hossain, p. 442.

Mogul, and the castle of the latter place assigned him as a suitable residence. In addition to this allowance, on his majesty's issuing firmauns, granting, in perpetuity, to the Company, the office of DUANNY, or administration of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the British governour, Lord Clive, recently returned to India, engaged to pay into the royal treasury, as a kind of quit rent out of the revenues of Bengal, 26 lacks, or 260,000l. more, making a clear annual income of nearly half a million sterling; an income amply adequate, not only to his necessities, but to the maintenance of some degree of regal splendour.

While, however, the emperor was thus liberally provided for, it cannot be denied but that the Company, in return, obtained essential advantages, which placed them, as foreigners, in a new and enviable situation; for they were by these firmauns, and that grant, constituted an efficient, permanent part of the Mogul empire, with the sovereign's authority, added to their own, for the accomplishment of all reasonable purposes of power, and aggrandisement, together with a clear annual revenue OF A MILLION AND AN HALF STERLING, after all the charges of the civil and military establishment were paid. Under the protection of the English, we shall at present leave Shah Aulum, and return to the administration of affairs at Delhi, under his son, and Nidjib al Dowlah.

To that capital, and a small district adjoining to it, on each side of the Jumna, were the once mighty and extensive domains of the Mogul sovereign reduced; and even that wretched pittance of territory, on the departure of Abdallah, the rapacious Jauts, the avowed enemies of the Rohilla minister, endeavoured to wrest from his grasp. The intrepid minister, with a far inferior force, took the field, but made amends by his skill and address,

for what he wanted in point of number. Confiding in their numbers, unimpaired by the recent battle from which we have seen they early and prudently receded, the chiefs of that nation, in vain assurance of victory, amidst the toil of arms occasionally indulged in the sports of the field. This culpable negligence passed not unobserved by Nidjib al Dowlah, who, by his spies, was fully acquainted with whatever was transacted in the hostile camp. Having, by this means, gained intelligence of a large hunting party, in which Suraje Mull and his principal generals were to be engaged on a particular day, he contrived on that very day to dispatch a resolute body of 500 horse, under a commander of approved valour, to intercept them, while he himself with the main body of his troops, rushed on the Jaut army, utterly unprepared, and deprived of the advantage of its most skilful generals. In both cases the well-concerted project was crowned with complete success. After a desperate defence, Suraje Mull and his chiefs (about 300 in number) were cut off to a man, and the head of Suraje Mull being borne aloft on a spear, and exhibited to his army, they were struck with fear and horror at the sight; and after a feeble resistance, fled in every direction. They were pursued by the Moguls to a great distance, and with immense slaughter, after which the victors returned in triumph to Delhi, where the death of the restless and turbulent Suraje Mull seemed to promise them a long and undisturbed repose.

It proved, however, but of short duration, for the rajah's son, Jowahir Mull, being determined to revenge his father's death, and having in addition to his own troops, hired a body of 20,000 Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, marched at the head of this formidable army to Delhi, to which city he laid close siege for three months, Nidjib being utterly unable to cope with such an

accumulation of force. Being reduced, at length, to great distress, and well knowing the mercenary nature of the Mahratta chiefs, he contrived by a large present, to bring Mulhar Row over to his interests, and the Jauts finding themselves betrayed by their venal allies, were ultimately compelled to agree to conditions very ill calculated to gratify their high-flown ideas of conquest and vengeance, and retired humiliated and disgusted to their own country. Repeated attacks, however, upon the capital, but of minor importance, continued, afterwards, to be made both by this people and the Seiks, but they were all repulsed or rendered nugatory by the political address of this able and upright statesman, who having discharged with honour both the duties of private life, and those due to the royal family, entrusted to his care, expired of a complication of disorders, and deeply regretted by the inhabitants of Delhi, in 1770. His son, Zabetah Khan, succeeded him in his important ministerial charge at Delhi; but in that station he seems to have acted with neither the ability, integrity, or loyalty of his father. Indeed it will be presently seen, that under whatever obligations the family of Timur might lie to Nidjib al Dowlah, they were utterly annulled by the long series of insults and oppressions heaped upon them at a subsequent period by this traitor, and his inhuman son, or rather monster in human form, Gholaum Caudir.

Deluded by a phantom of ideal grandeur, and impatient to be seated on the throne of his ancestors in the imperial city of Delhi, Shah Aulum, after a reluctant residence at Allahabad under the protection of the English, during five years, at length determined to exchange the comforts of independence for the splendid cares of a diadem, whose glory was faded, and whose authority was extinguished. Out of the liberal stipend settled upon him by the Company, Shah Aulum had been able to save a considerable

sum, and as the English continued firm in their resolution not to assist him in his ambitious projects, he turned his eyes towards the Mahrattas, who were by this time sufficiently recovered from their late disaster to engage in new schemes of conquest and aggrandizement, and in fact had at that moment an army encamped near Delhi, of 30,000 horse, waiting the current of events to be employed by one or other of the contending parties that harassed the empire. In this his rash determination to quit Allahabad, and to call in the aid of the Mahratta chiefs, he was encouraged and supported by his favourite minister, Hussam al Dowlah, a man of base and venal principles, and originally of mean extraction, but who had risen to distinction by becoming the pander of his master's illicit pleasures. This wretch, to whose pernicious councils the greater part of the errors of his early reign may be justly ascribed, hoped, by engaging the Mahrattas in the royal cause, and under their protection, to establish beyond controul his assumed power over the crown in that more enlarged sphere of action in which they possessed ample ability to place him, and his plans and councils were but too eagerly attended to on this and other occasions by his infatuated sovereign. The sum which was stipulated by this minister for their assistance in putting him in possession of Delhi was ten lacks of rupees, and this sum their rapacious chiefs insisted on being paid before hand, with which extraordinary demand, after much negociation, the emperor thought proper to comply. His own army, although not numerous, was respectable, having been disciplined after the European manner, and commanded by English officers, who were, however, not permitted to accompany him beyond the frontiers of Corah. To that boundary the imperial troops were attended by the Vizier and Sir Robert Barker, the English commander in chief, who, after repeating in vain his

own earnest request, and that of the presidency of Calcutta, that he would not depart from under their protection, took his final adieu. In this request the Vizier also joined, but insincerely, as he had secretly encouraged the departure of a prince, whose strict union with the English he considered as a bar to the success of projects to the accomplishment of which he wanted their assistance.

The royal army now moved forward, and arriving at Ferokhabad, the Nabob of which, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, was recently dead, Shah Aulum received from his son a tribute of five lacks, as a compensation for having confirmed to him by a royal firmaun those estates and that property of his deceased father, which, according to the laws of the Mogul empire, should have reverted to the crown. Thus was the royal treasury still farther replenished, and with invigorated confidence pressing forward towards the goal of his ambition, the emperor was in a few days joined by the Mahratta army, who, marching on with him to the capital without meeting any obstruction, entered it in grand procession, and completed their agreement by publicly enthroning him with great pomp on the musnud of Delhi. This joyful event took place in December 1771 ; a momentary exultation was diffused through that desolated metropolis, and the palace and court were illuminated by a transient ray of their ancient splendour.

Inflamed with resentment against Zabetah Khan, who, after his father's decease, was reported, not only to have treated the emperor, then resident at Allahabad, with marked disrespect, but, also to have violated the sanctity of the royal haram, by an intrigue with one of the princesses of the blood, —— with the aggravation of refusing to remit to court the customary tribute of his district ——Shah Aulum, early in the following year, commenced

his march at the head of 90,000 men, chiefly Mahratta cavalry, for the territories of that chief. They comprehended the province of Sehaurunpore, situated about 70 miles north-east of Delhi, in the upper parts of the *Dooab*, and in the vicinity of the Sewalick hills; and were conferred on his father, in Jaghire, in just reward for his long and meritorious services to the state. Zabetah Khan, conscious of guilt, and prejudging his fate, had made every preparation possible for resisting the *Mogul* forces; he had placed numerous garrisons in all his forts, and commanded in the field a chosen body of veteran Rohillas; but against the immense *Mahratta* army, now advancing to desolate his country, it was in his power to oppose no adequate force, and after several desperate and sanguinary conflicts, he was compelled to retire across the Ganges, and take refuge in the dominions of Sujah Dowlah, who, however in his heart he might detest the Rohillas, retained a still greater dread and abhorrence of the Mahrattas. Well knowing how obnoxious he was to them from his conduct at Paniput, that omrah had advanced to Shahabad, the frontier city of his dominions, attended by Sir Robert Barker, and a considerable body of English troops, to watch their motions, and Colonel Champion was at Benares with a still larger body; but the emperor restrained their impetuosity, and having plundered the country of every valuable it contained, the whole army returned to Delhi. On this occasion he experienced a glaring proof of the equity of his new allies, for out of the immense booty which they had obtained in this campaign, the Mahrattas scarcely allowed any part to the Moguls, with whom they had agreed to divide the spoil; and having thus drained both the emperor and the country, marched off towards Agra to pass the rainy season, and raise fresh contributions among the Jauts. In the late expedition we first hear

of the distinguished bravery and ability of Nudjuff Khan, general of the imperial troops, who will make a conspicuous figure in the annals of this reign, and whose exertions the emperor rewarded to the best of his abilities.

To fill up the measure of their perfidy, after the rains, the Mahrattas returned to the neighbourhood of the capital, and having been secretly bribed by Zabetah Khan, dispatched messengers to the court of Delhi, insisting on the restoration of that omrah to all the territories, for ejecting him from which they had been paid by the emperor. By their own peremptory mandates the newly appointed officers were removed from the districts near Delhi, in which they had been placed as the only means of paying the heavy arrears due to them; and the wretched emperor, baffled, deluded, and assailed on every side by insult, and clamour, began heartily to wish himself once more under the protection of the English, in the enjoyment of an abridged but undisturbed domain, and a solid and certain, though inferior revenue. His treacherous minister, Husham, grown jealous of the rising influence of Nudjuff Khan, is said privately to have instigated the Mahrattas to these outrages, in order to crush that chief, and obtain the disbanding of his army, on the plea that there was no money in the treasury to pay them. But neither would that loyal chief desert his sovereign in this extremity, nor would the affection of the soldiers suffer themselves to be torn from their general. On the contrary, on the near approach of the enemy, he marched out at the head of all the troops which Delhi could supply, and offered them battle under the walls of the city. Scarcely had he formed his line, when the Mahrattas began the attack in their usual impetuous manner; but they were repulsed by the steady bravery of the Moguls, and pursued to some distance. Their flight was probably

designed, for the pursuit was fatal. Having advanced beyond the reach of the artillery of the city walls, which defended their rear, they were surrounded by so superior a body of Mahratta cavalry as insured victory to the latter. Still, however, the Delhians for a time resolutely continued the unequal contest. Many brave Moguls perished on that fatal day, and Nudjuff, in particular, seemed determined not to survive the disaster. While attempting to rush singly on the armed myriads of the foe, he was stopt by his friends, and carried by force into Delhi, where, however, neither his courage nor his patriotism could save him from the vindictive fury of his rival.

The Mahrattas in a few days removed their camp close to the walls of the city, and their chiefs, Bissagee and Holkar, together with Zabetah Khan, insolently entered the palace on their elephants, as far as the hall of audience, a privilege allowed only to the royal family. The humiliated emperor descended from his throne to receive them, and was compelled to submit to all their arrogant demands. Zabetah Khan was completely restored to all the domains that had been wrested from him, and had also the rank of ameer al omrah bestowed upon him. The Jauts were also re-instated in many of their possessions which had been taken from them in the Dooab, and added to the royal domain; and the Mahrattas appropriated to themselves other large tracts; so that Delhi alone remained to the beggared monarch. Not content, however, with degrading him thus far, they compelled him to violate every principle of honour and gratitude, by demanding of him a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, where he had been so long and so generously protected by the English. The English, however, on his retreat from those provinces, had seized upon them, as their property, not only by conquest, but by his former cession of them, and the Mahrattas stood too much

in awe of their power at present to attempt occupying them. Nudjuff Khan, upon whom the minister laid all the blame of resistance, was fined in a heavy sum, and banished the royal presence, and the city of Delhi, from which in three days he departed with all his adherents, but was immediately taken into the service of Holkar, who admired his bravery, at a large stipend.

The Mahrattas shortly after commenced their march for Rohilcund, with intent to plunder that province; but found there Sujah Dowlah, and an English brigade under Sir Robert Barker, to whom the Rohillas had applied for protection, ready to obstruct their progress. After committing their usual depredations on the northern and exposed districts of the province, awed by the approach of the British artillery, they retired precipitately across the Ganges, and bending their course towards the Jumna, before the end of the year returned to Deccan. On the retreat of the Mahrattas, Nudjuff Khan, with his faithful battalions, joined the forces of Sujah Dowlah, who received him with the greatest kindness, and by his earnest recommendations, in addition to those of Sir Robert Barker, he was again restored to the emperor's favour, who had, in fact, parted with him only by compulsion. He had long viewed with disgust the unprincipled conduct of his favourite minister, Husham, by whose predilection for the Mahrattas he had suffered such extreme affliction and debasement. The treasury was empty, and even the crown-jewels had been pledged to supply the pressing necessities of the court; the army also had become mutinous on account of the great arrears due to them. In this emergency, it seemed but just that the remedy should be derived from that quarter which was the source of these multiplied calamities. The minister was given up to the merited vengeance of his fortunate rival, and his

ill-gotten treasures were devoted to alleviate the public distresses. After keeping him confined, however, during two years, Nudjuff Khan had the generosity to set him at liberty, and allowed him a liberal pension for the remainder of his life.

It is not without indignation that the historian of this period finds himself compelled to descend from recording the annals of a great dynasty, and become the degraded narrator of the ambitious struggles for power of their viziers and favourites. Sujah Dowlah had, however, now become a personage of greater political consequence in the empire, possessed far more extensive territories, and a far more abundant revenue, than even Shah Aulum himself. His ambition, indeed, had expanded with his power; and he now determined, with the aid of his allies, the English, to seize on the country of the Rohillas, and make that fine, fertile, and contiguous province, a constituent, unalienable portion of his own dominions. The ostensible plea, never wanted by a tyrant, when resolved on acts of aggression, for this glaring act of injustice, was the neglect of the chiefs of that nation to discharge the sum of 40 lacks, stipulated to be paid him for the defence of their country in the preceding year against the Mahratta hordes. The chiefs urged, in excuse, their utter inability at that time to discharge the demand, owing to the desolated state of a great part of their country; but, whether that excuse were feigned or real, their ruin and expulsion were resolved upon by the inexorable Vizier. The presidency at Calcutta seem in this instance too easily to have listened to those delusive maxims of state policy, which removed for ever from the vicinity of their ally and of themselves, a dangerous and troublesome neighbour, of whom war was at once the employment and delight. The imbecile court of Delhi, soothed by the immediate payment of a large sum, and the promise of sharing in the plunder of Rohilcund,

prepared to take an active part in the iniquitous business; and Nudjuff Khan, at that time successfully pursuing the war against the Jauts, in the vicinity of Agra, was recalled for that purpose, and ordered to unite his forces with those of the Vizier in its reduction.

Early in the year 1774, all his mighty preparations for the attack being ready, the Vizier took the field, and was soon joined by the British under Colonel Champion. Hafiz Rahmut, the most distinguished chief among the Rohillas, as well by power as talents, commanded the army of warriors who were now to contend against such great odds in military skill, for their independence, and even their very existence, as a nation. Their collective force amounted to 24,000 horse and foot, 4000 rocket men, and 60 pieces of artillery.* They had the village of Cutterah on their rear, and a river that runs by that village covered their flank. Colonel Champion, by various skilful manœuvres contrived to draw them from that advantageous situation, and, by delaying the attack from day to day, caused the Rohilla general to relax somewhat in point of vigilance. On the 22d of April the British commander made the necessary preparation for action, and marching the following morning at two o'clock, *without beat of drum*, arrived about sun-rise within view of the Rohilla camp. The confusion of the Rohillas at the sudden appearance of so formidable an enemy, drawn up in battle array within cannon shot of their lines, may be conceived, but cannot be expressed. Hafiz Rahmut did the utmost in his power to rectify the error into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed. Immediately mounting his elephant, he sallied forth to reconnoitre their position, and on his return to camp, by his presence and authority, prevented the flight of a great part of the army,

* Hamilton's History of the Rohilla Afghans, page 231.

though he was too late to arrest the progress of a body of infantry, about 4000 in number, who, at the first alarm of the near approach of the English, had retired panic-struck from the field. He recounted to them their former glories on the plains of Hindostan; he reminded them that the enemy whom they had to oppose, though formidable in battle, were but *usurpers* like themselves; and he suceeded in inspiring them with an undaunted resolution to make, at least, one brave effort for the preservation of their independence.

Hafiz himself took his post in the centre of the Afghan army, directly opposite to the British troops. Fizoola Khan, the next chief in power and consequence, assisted by others, subordinate to himself in rank, had the command of that division of their forces which fronted the troops led on by the Vizier, and his general Latifet. For intrepid personal exertion, however, by distinguished individuals, there was little opportunity, as the action principally consisted of a cannonade, supported with great vigour and spirit on both sides for two hours; first at the distance of 2000 yards, and then, as the armies gradually advanced towards each other, of 500 yards. Unfortunately for the Rohillas, most of their shot, from the bad quality of the powder used by them, fell short of the enemy, and their rockets, the invention of an age of barbarity, though thrown in prodigious numbers, did but little execution; whilst a continued discharge of balls from the English artillery fell in torrents upon their centre, and made dreadful havoc among their unweildy columns. It was in vain that Hafiz Rahmut, descending from his elephant, and mounting a horse, repeatedly urged the cavalry to second him in a vigorous attack upon the flank of the enemy. The terror of the unremitting, well-directed fire of the English restrained them from rushing, as they thought, upon certain

destruction ; and, in a short time, seeing their gallant general fall its victim, the centre immediately began to give way, and in a few minutes the whole broke and fled with precipitation. The right and left divisions, commanded by Fizoola Khan, and the other Rohilla chiefs, when they saw the centre broken and dispersed, and the allies advancing upon them, could not by all the upbraidings and intreaties of their leaders be induced to stand their ground, but fled off at full gallop, hurrying *them* reluctantly with them ; and leaving their camp (which was still standing) with all their baggage, artillery, and an immense booty, to the victors. Some bodies of the Vizier's cavalry were dispatched after the fugitives, but, mounted on fleet horses, they fled different ways, and for the most part eluded their pursuers. The loss of the allies in this decisive action was inconsiderable, but that of the Afghans was not less than 2000 in killed and wounded, and the day was fatal to them in every respect, both individually, and as a nation.

Although Fizoola Khan was utterly unable to rally his troops on the day of action, yet, after the panic was over, and when he had retired to the famous hill-fort of Lolldong, he was joined by very considerable bodies of his countrymen, who preferred the desperate chance of that resource to unconditional submission. Their increasing numbers and resolute resistance eventually obtained for them, through the mediation of the English commander, more favourable terms than they could otherwise have expected. Fizoola was left in full possession of Rampore and its dependencies, yielding an annual revenue of more than fourteen lacks of rupees. The great body however of the Rohilla nation were compelled to retire to the west of the Ganges, and it was expressly stipulated that in future Fizoola's military establishment should never exceed 5000 men.

In the mean time Nudjuff Khan, in consequence of the agreement entered into by the emperor with Sujah Dowlah to assist him with a body of troops, had advanced to Bissoolee on the frontiers of Rohilcund, with 6000 men; but arrived too late to have any share in the reduction of the Rohillas. Having fulfilled the compact, however, he claimed the stipulated reward of *half the conquered country*, which was refused by the Vizier, on the ground of his having borne no actual part in its subjugation. On receiving, however, the imperial grants investing him with the sovereignty of the Rohilla territory, and Kinnoje, together with Corah and Allahabad, of which he had already been put in possession by the English, he remitted a handsome present to court, and reinforced Nudjuff, with some of his own troops to enable him to extend his conquests for the emperor *nominally*, but in reality for his own aggrandizement in the Dooab. Early in the following year (1775) in the midst of his triumphs and in the zenith of gratified ambition, expired Sujah Dowlah, and was succeeded both in his government and the office of Vizier by his eldest son, Asoph al Dowlah. The peishcush offered on this occasion was suitable to his rank and dignity in the empire; and thus was the royal treasury still farther enriched.

Had his ministers been sincere or disinterested, Shah Aulum might now have enjoyed the throne with some share of its ancient dignity and lustre; but the splendid victories about this time obtained by the arms of Nudjuff Khan over the Jauts, and the rajahpout chiefs, induced him almost wholly to lay aside the obedience of a subject, and treat his sovereign with a contemptuous arrogance, very unmerited by his imperial benefactor. He even refused to admit a royal officer to the command of the citadel of Agra, of which city and province, as well as the greatest part of Delhi, he had now become the entire master;

having an army of his own, and residing at Agra in almost regal state.

Next to Nudjuff himself, but far below him (in real dignity and consequence) the most prominent actor on the scene at this time was a crafty, venal, and unprincipled omrah named Mujud al Dowlah, the emperor's minister for civil affairs, highly in favour with his master, but a determined enemy of that commander, and as far as he dared, a resolute opposer of his ambitious projects. The captain-general, however, superior in genius, and commanding the army, looked down with supreme contempt both on the king and his minister. After long abusing the emperor's unlimited confidence, a circumstance arose which at once proved the deep duplicity of his heart, and his utter incapacity to conduct the affairs of a great empire. The Seiks, whose efforts to become an independent state in Lahore, during the reign of Bahadur Shah, have been already noticed,* and who during the late distractions of the empire had become extremely numerous and powerful, about this time made an irruption into the province of Delhi, and extended their devastations to the very shores of the Jumna. To obviate a danger so near and so alarming, and drive the marauders back into their own territories, an army of 20,000 men was immediately raised, and in the absence of Nudjuff, Mujud al Dowlah, accompanied by one of the princes of the blood, was appointed to the command of it. It was attended by a formidable train of artillery, and was considered as a force perfectly adequate to the reduction of the enemy.

The royal army having advanced as far as Carnaul, near that city fell in with the first detachment of Seiks, which, however, being very inferior in point of numbers avoided an engagement by proposals of submission, and bought their peace by a peishcush

* See Chapter IV. page 511.

of three lacks, and the promise of an annual tribute. They were ordered to attend the march of the imperial troops, which now pursued its progress towards the Seik frontiers, and encamped before Puttiali, a town sixty coss north of the latter, strongly fortified, and commanded by a daring chief, named Amur Sing, who, having a numerous garrison, and abundance of provisions, was resolved to sustain a siege. To this resistance he was further instigated by intelligence of the approach of a large army of Seiks from Lahore, and by his emissaries he contrived to keep up a strict communication with the chieftains of the battalions of his countrymen, attendant in the train of the royal army. By this means he became intimately acquainted with all their plans and movements; and receiving information of the venal character of the minister, he determined to turn it to his advantage, and, to carry on the delusion more effectually, affected to enter into a negociation with the latter, making him costly presents, and still more splendid promises. Commissioners were in consequence mutually appointed to settle the terms of surrender, but those on the part of Amur Sing were directed as much as possible to procrastinate the final adjustment of matters. At length having received advice of the near approach of the army from Lahore, Amur Sing suddenly broke off the treaty, and, the Seik chieftains having previously lulled suspicion asleep in the mind of the minister, made their escape at the head of their troops, and joined their comrades. The shameful supineness and inaction of Mujud al Dowlah, during these transactions, corroborated the strong suspicions that prevailed throughout the army of his having been bribed to betray the royal cause; but, whether or not he was guilty of actual collusion with the enemy, the result was the same. The immense host of Seiks that had marched from Lahore having been joined by the fugitive battalions, and

the troops that composed the garrison of Puttiali, formed together an irresistible army, and at the first onset the king's troops being overpowered by numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and every where dispersed and put to the rout. The powerful and well-directed fire of the artillery, stationed in the rear, alone saved them from total destruction.

When intelligence of this fatal disaster reached Delhi, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation, and more especially so when it was found that the triumphant enemy, following up their victory, had crossed the Jumna, and in their usual ferocious manner were plundering the northern districts of the Dooab. Messengers were instantly dispatched by the terrified emperor to Nudjuff Khan at Agra, urging the necessity of his immediate return with the army under his command to Delhi, and the summons was chearfully obeyed by a chief sufficiently confident in his own merit, and who had now a fair opportunity of crushing for ever his inveterate enemy. Mujud al Dowlah, in the mean time, with the remnant of his discomfited army, had returned to the capital amidst the execrations of the people, and in vain endeavoured, by a multitude of fallacious statements, to justify himself to his insulted sovereign. That sovereign heard him with deep but silent indignation, as his palace was surrounded by his troops, and himself wholly at his mercy. On the approach of the captain-general to Delhi, Mujud al Dowlah, and one of the princes of the blood, under the pretence of doing him honour, were ordered to march a few coss to meet him, and conduct him to the presence. The minister, though warned by his friends that treachery was designed him, confidently marched out to meet his rival. On entering his tent, however, he was arrested, and sent back under a strong guard to Delhi; and shortly after

his whole fortune, amounting to twenty lacks of rupees was seized, and confiscated to the use of the captain-general. That distinguished chief himself was received by the emperor with marks of the highest respect, and under his direction early in the following year an army, ably commanded, was dispatched against the Seiks, who were defeated with great slaughter under the walls of Meerut, and the honour of the imperial army amply vindicated. From this period to his death, Nudjuff Khan resided constantly at Delhi, but became in his conduct more haughty and arrogant than ever, and left the humiliated emperor in the enjoyment of few privileges beyond that of granting empty titles, and the ratification of the acts of his imperious minister. From what he has just read, the reader will perceive that to enter, with any minuteness, into the transactions of this period of the Mogul annals would be only to record the rise and fall of ministers and favourites—to enumerate the struggles of grasping avarice and unprincipled ambition for the spoils of an expiring empire, and is unworthy the province of History. Let us hasten, therefore, to the close of this distressful scene, and contemplate, with due commiseration, the final catastrophe of this distinguished dynasty, and of this once potent empire.

From this vassalage (for so it must be called) under Nudjuff Khan, the emperor was released by the death of that chief, which took place, from a complication of disorders, in April, 1782. For his exalted situation as ameer al omrah, and his extensive domains in the Dooab and the Jaut country, there arose many and powerful competitors. The principal of these were Affrasiab Khan, an adopted son of the deceased, and Mirza Shuffee, the general, who had so successfully led the imperial army against the Seiks, and who was related, by blood, to that chief. Their contests, and those of their connections and dependents both in the male

and female line, to secure the object of their ambition, were protracted and violent, but I forbear the detail of them. Mirza Shuffee proved at length the successful candidate ; but he enjoyed his new-blown honours only for a short time, being stabbed in the field by Ismael Beg, a distinguished Mogul chief, of whom much will occur hereafter. Affrasiab now succeeded to the high station for which he had before ineffectually contended, but found himself unable to appease the rage of the refractory chiefs who had devoted his predecessor to death ; and after in vain applying to the English for their assistance, formed an alliance with the famous Mahratta chief, Madhajee Scindia, who had already, by a rapid career of conquest, obtained possession of the greater part of the territories around Agra and in the Rajahpout country subjugated by the arms of Nudjuff Khan. He had a large well-disciplined army at his command, and from his being long practised in the field, both of Indian politics, and of war, Affrasiab from that alliance indulged the most confident hopes of complete success. Those hopes would probably have been in a great degree realized, but the dreadful knife of assassination in eastern climes is always thirsting for blood, and by that knife, aimed by the same hands that guided it before, he also fell, a very few days after he had, in a personal interview with that chief, agreed on a day jointly to attack the common foe. Scindia in this extremity was at no loss how to act. By dint of large presents, by promises of implicit obedience, and a handsome establishment for the royal household, he prevailed on the emperor to place himself under the protection of his nation, and appoint himself to the command of the army, and the governments of Agra and Delhi. The Mogul chiefs, being without a head, and divided among themselves in the choice of a successor, bribed by his presents, and awed by his army, were soon prevailed upon to acknowledge

his authority, and separately made the best terms they were able with the new commander. Shah Aulum had an allowance settled upon him of 60,000 rupees per month; but a Mahratta guard constantly attended him, and, in fact, from that moment he was only a state-prisoner in the hands of Scindia.

In the short account of the Mahratta states, inserted in the preceding volume,* this very important actor in the scene before us, MADHAJEE SCINDIA, is stated to nave been the fifth son of Ranojee Scindia, the founder of the family, and to have succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, a considerable portion of Malwa, obtained by the valour of that father, of which Oujein is the capital. By the limits of that province, however, he was by no means to be confined, and in the course of recent years, we have seen him acting as an expert and daring leader, in most of the predatory armies of his nation, that about this period overran the empire. We have remarked him gradually extending his authority over all the adjoining districts to the very banks of the Jumna, and securing to himself the conquests of Nudjuff Khan, in the Jaut country. He compelled the emperor to sanction by his presence his ambitious projects, for still more widely extending those conquests. The citadel of Agra, after a short siege, had submitted, and the stronger fortress of Alleeghur rapidly followed. He then marched with him into the country of the rajahs, and demanded an annual tribute, which was reluctantly submitted to, especially by the rajah of Jeypore, the most powerful of them, who secretly meditated a determined opposition to his claims, although the precise moment of resistance was not arrived. After this successful expedition of the new minister, the emperor returned to Delhi, and Scindia, with his army, went into cantonments at Muttra.

* Vol. II. p. 331.

Scindia was now in the plenitude of his power, and was both feared and respected. In the breasts, however, of the Mogul nobility, there burned a spark of latent jealousy, on observing the throne subjected to the supreme control of a Mahratta adventurer. An incident soon occurred which blew that spark into a flame. Towards the close of the following year (1787) a considerable body of Mahrattas having been dispatched to collect the tribute from the Jeypoor and other rajahs, was defeated and put to flight, which occasioned the immediate march of Scindia and the whole army into that country. The Rajahpouts, being firmly united, had contrived to distress him, by cutting off his supplies, and, in the confusion and distress occasioned by this calamity, Mahommed, and his brother, Ismael Beg, with other Mogul chiefs, deserted to the enemy. In a severe action which followed, Mahommed was slain, and his troops began to give way, but Ismael Beg, by the example of his heroic bravery, so animated the sinking spirit of his soldiers, that they returned with fury to the attack, and obtained a complete victory over the Mahrattas. Some days after the battle, the Sepoys, disciplined after the European manner, in whom lay the strength of his army, left Scindia, and enlisted under the banners of Ismael Beg, who, following up his victory, ultimately compelled that chief to evacuate Agra and Delhi, and retire to Deccan with the remains of his discomfited army. Such are the rapid transitions frequently occurring in India, from the most exalted state of power and splendor, to that of abject humiliation and distress.

The unfortunate emperor was now doomed, once more, to change masters. Himself and his capital were in charge of a Mahratta garrison, yet Ismael Beg, with the imperial army, was fighting against the troops of that nation, and, in the sovereign's name, had already commenced the siege of Agra. Even this

accumulation of evils might be borne; but a monster deeply stained with crimes and blood was now approaching Delhi, from whom he was to suffer a series of outrages and insults, unparalleled in the history of thrones, and of such a nature that the very recital of them makes humanity shudder.

The various rebellions of that turbulent chief, Zabeta Khan, have been occasionally noticed. Owing to the false policy of the Vizier, when he expelled the Rohilla nation from his western frontier, this chief was suffered to retain his possessions, in the hope that being thus favoured, his power and influence might be exerted to check any tumultuous insurrections of his countrymen. By his own numerous forces, united with the English army stationed in his dominions, the Vizier himself was secure from his depredations, but he was a perpetual thorn in the side of the unfortunate emperor. Towards the close of 1785, Zabetah Khan died, and the ferocious chief, above mentioned, his son, without paying the slightest homage, or making the least offering to the sovereign, as is customary in Hindostan, assumed the government of the district. Incensed as the emperor was at this slight, until Scindia should return with reinforcements from Deccan, he had no arm to revenge his wrongs; and Gholaum Caudir having raised a considerable army, in the absence of the Deccan chief, meditated the accomplishment of projects of the most daring and ambitious kind. The Mahratta garrison in Delhi, was known to be neither very powerful, nor numerous; their expulsion, the plunder of the city, and the captivity of the aged monarch, might be effected without much difficulty and effusion of blood. He had already fortified in the strongest manner his principal fort of Ghose-Ghur, and in his territory were other fortresses of great strength and intricate construction, where a pursuing army might be baffled or eluded.

The immense treasures, in gold and jewels, supposed to be hoarded in the palace, inflamed his imagination ; and the possession of the person of the sovereign, who had long swayed the Indian sceptre at the will and direction of another, would, he conceived, insure to him that of all the power remaining in the empire. It elevated a petty Rohilla chief to the rank and wealth of princes. It was a prize worth contending for: and he determined to risque every thing to obtain it.

To the success of this daring undertaking there was one circumstance peculiarly favourable. The great mogul omrahs at Delhi, who, both from religious and political prejudices, heartily detested the Mahrattas, anxiously desired the emancipation of the emperior and his court from the yoke of that nation ; but as the Rohillas were of the Mahommedan faith, they were not averse to their being under the protection of that power. The Nazir, or principal superintendant of the palace, in particular, is accused on this occasion of the blackest perfidy, by not only secretly corresponding with the Rohilla, but by inflaming his hopes of the spoil to be found in the palace, with which his situation might be supposed to render him best acquainted. Ignorant, therefore, of the real character of the man whom they hailed as a deliverer, they prepared the way for the admission into Delhi of its direst scourge ; and when his army, formidable both for their numbers and ferocity, appeared before its walls, no native arm was raised for its defence: the whole Mahratta garrison, also, knowing themselves to be in every respect so vastly inferior, with great rapidity evacuated the city. The invader, however, having made himself secure of Delhi, did not immediately begin his system of massacre and depredation, but having compelled the emperor to confer on himself the dignity of Ameer al Omrah, marched away to the attack of the strong fortress of Alleeghur, where Scindia

had also left a garrison; and which, after a short siege, capitulated. On the fall of Alleeghur, he marched to join Ismael Beg, then occupied in besieging Agra; but with that chief, either from jealousy, or some other motive, not perfectly agreeing, he left him, in order to pursue his career of conquest in other parts of the Dooab.

Whatever might have been the cause of their separation, it was deeply disastrous to Ismael, who shortly after was attacked by a considerable Mahratta army, detached by Scindia from Gualior, under the command of his confidential minister, Rana Khan, and utterly defeated with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and stores. He himself escaped with difficulty, by swimming his horse across the Jumna; but, being afterwards joined by a large body of his routed cavalry, on an invitation from the Rohilla to forget their differences, and unite their forces, he obeyed the summons, and the combined armies marched back towards Delhi. Shah Aulum being informed of the recent victory gained by the Mahrattas, and dreading the rage of Scindia, now forbad their entrance into that city, and ordered the gates to be shut against the confederated chiefs. The Nazir, however, and other Mogul chiefs within, encouraging them, they proceeded to violence, and having burst open the gates, again became possessed both of the city, and the person of the emperor.

Introduced to the presence by the perfidious Nazir, they threw themselves at the feet of the insulted monarch, and begged his forgiveness of a crime founded in the virtuous wish to release him from those disgraceful bonds in which the Mahrattas had so long holden the illustrious house of Timur. If he would renounce his alliance with that infidel race, and would appoint *them* his generals, with the same privileges and absolute authority with which he had invested Scindia, especially if he would permit one

of the princes of the blood to accompany them to the field with their united armies, under that sanction they made no doubt of driving the Mahrattas back to the Deccan, of restoring the lustre of his faded crown, and adding a large increase to his diminished revenue. The sceptered dupe of so many projects, the devoted victim of so many adventurers, remained for some moments in profound silence. At length, rather prevailed upon by the representations of the Nazir, who joined in their solicitations, than by their intreaties, the unfortunate monarch assented to their demands, and a treaty being drawn up, was ratified by the solemnity of oaths mutually pledged in one of the mosques of the palace.

In that mosque the doom of the empire and the emperor was sealed. The prince who sends an army to the field commanded by generals of his own appointing, becomes responsible for the charges of it; but, previously to the late treaty, the armies both of the Rohilla and Ismael Beg, had considerable arrears due to them, and from the treasury of Delhi those arrears must be disbursed. In a few days Gholaum Caudir repeatedly sent to demand of the emperor a very considerable sum for that purpose. The combined armies having as yet done no military service for the empire or himself, he refused compliance. This irritated the Rohilla, and being assured by Nazir that Shah Aulum really did possess secret hoards of treasure and jewels, he determined within himself to dethrone the unfortunate monarch and send him into confinement, when he would have the uncontrolled command of the treasures, and all the property of every kind in the palace. Having communicated this determination to Ismael Beg, and obtained his assent, early in the morning of the 26th July, 1788, these lawless ruffians, at the head of a numerous armed band, having entered the great Hall

of Audience, and insolently seated themselves near the throne, dispatched that base instrument of their villainy, the Nazir, with a positive demand of a large supply of money from the emperor. His excuse was that of *inability*. Two attendants were immediately ordered to bring from the state prison of the royal family, Bedar Bukht, son of the deceased emperor Ahmed Shah. The prince being placed on the imperial musnud, received from the chiefs and all present the usual presents and salutations made to an emperor on his first ascending the throne. Shah Aulum, with nineteen princes, his sons and grandsons, was then by the unrelenting Gholaum ordered into close confinement in an apartment of the palace called Noormahal. Here himself and family were kept without victuals or drink till they were nearly perishing with hunger; and on the 28th, one of the princes of Bedar's family having sent a few cakes and a little water to Shah Aulum, was ordered to be beaten with clubs.

The two rebel chiefs now began the search for treasures, in which they were grievously disappointed, as, contrary to the suggestions of the Nazir, very little was found in the treasury. This disappointment produced a violent quarrel between the confederated robbers, and they parted at length, in very ill blood; Ismael retiring to his camp, and Gholaum Caudir continuing in the palace. The new emperor in the mean time used his utmost exertions, the price of his throne, in collecting together all the remaining valuables of the palace, and by menaces and persuasion obtained from the princesses of the haram the whole of their jewels and wealth of every kind, which he sent in trays to Gholaum Caudir; but the important secret of the concealed treasure was supposed to be locked up in the breast of the dethroned emperor. On the 29th, Gholaum Caudir having prepared five whips, obliged Bedar Shah to take one in his hands, and

accompany him to extort a confession of his treasures from Shah Aulum. On the 30th, several ladies of the haram were tied up and beaten with whips in order to compel a discovery of their effects, and the whole palace resounded with lamentations. On the 31st, Gholaum, by these means, had heaped such an immensity of spoil, that, to pacify the enraged Ismael Beg, he sent him five lacks of rupees, as part of the plunder of the palace. During all this time the severest exactions were going on in the city, and among others this day, seven bankers were seized and imprisoned, in order to extort money from them. August 1st, Gholaum Caudir went again to the miserable Shah Aulum, and threatened him with punishment. "What I possessed," said the agonizing prince, "you have got; if you think I carry concealed treasures within me, rip up my bowels, and be convinced."

The aged princesses Maleka Zumani, and Saheba Mhal, mentioned in a former page as the widows of Mahommed Shah, still resided in Delhi. They were esteemed immensely rich, having not been molested during all the revolutions that had taken place since the death of that monarch. As they were related to the new monarch they were sent for to the palace, by a mandate that allowed of no refusal, and made instrumental to the purpose of plundering of their valuables the female part of its inhabitants, to whom at first some deference was paid; but the unsparing Afghaun soon forgot those distinctions so respected over all the Eastern world, and equally devoted male and female to depredation. These princesses having been made thus useful, were themselves, in their turn, plundered of their vast property, and on the ground of having still concealed treasures, subjected to the tongue of insult and to the pangs of hunger. The storm now also deservedly began to roll upon the Nazir, who became the victim of his own deception; seven

lacks were demanded from him. On the 3d, the most daring insult was offered by Gholaum to his imperial pageant. Having seated himself near him, he smoaked his hookah in his presence, with his feet stretched out upon the royal musnud, insulting him at the same time with the grossest invectives. On the 6th, however, he proceeded further, and seized upon the throne itself, with all the other thrones and seats, no longer golden, as in the better days of the empire, but ornamented with plates of gold and silver; those plates were torn off, and consigned to the mint. And now the floors of all the apartments in the palace, as well those inhabited by males as females, were dug up, and the cielings torn down to discover hidden treasure; and great lots of jewels, money, and plate, buried long previous to the birth of Shah Aulum, and utterly unknown to that indigent monarch, were in fact discovered. Still unsatiated, the rapacious Gholaum went again to the dethroned emperor, and demanded the money which he had saved from the revenues of Bengal and Allahabad. The unfortunate prince in reply begged him "to put him to death, and end his troubles." On the 7th, Bedar Shah was severely threatened with corporeal correction, and even with dethronement, if more money was not instantly produced. The miserable half famished king exclaimed that he should be happy to be released from such *mock royalty*. The Nazir too was threatened with flagellation, if he did not produce more money; and had a guard set upon him.

At length the fatal *tenth of August* arrived, when, not content with starving, beating, and otherwise grossly insulting his liege sovereign, and all the *princes*, and what to an Asiatic is still more horrible! the *princesses* of the royal family, the monster, attended by five Afghans, ferocious as himself, rushed into the apartment of Shah Aulum, and repeated his demand for the treasure, the

concealed treasure! The usual answer that he had no concealed hoards being returned, he ordered the attendant ruffians to seize the princes his sons, Soleyman Akber and others, to lift them up on high, and dash them on the ground with violence before the face of the agonizing father. At this refinement of diabolical cruelty, that father passionately exclaimed; "TRAITOR! forbear such cruelty to my children in my sight." The dæmon then, resolved that he should never see them nor the sun more! ordered the Afghans to cast the hapless monarch on the ground, which they did, and, falling upon him, stabbed out his eyes with a dagger. Other accounts say that he himself rushing upon the bosom of the prostrate king, with his own hands pricked out his eyes with the point of a poniard; an act perfectly credible, and entirely consonant with his bloody disposition. He then ordered the miserable princes to undergo the same fate; but from this additional piece of frantic barbarity he was restrained by the humane entreaties of an officer in his train. While these dreadful scenes were transacting, the whole palace rang with female shrieks and outcries of horror, which the menace of whips and the terror of inflicted tortures could not for a long time silence. The pale and bleeding monarch was left without medical aid in this miserable condition; but afterwards, being in exquisite pain, two surgeons of the household were upon his earnest intreaty permitted to attend him, and dress his wounds.

In the mean time, owing to the boundless rapacity of the Rohillas, the whole city continued in the utmost disorder and confusion; all the bankers and jewellers shops were shut up, and half the terrified inhabitants had fled into the country. On the 12th, more money was sent to the camp to Ismael Beg, and the apparently reconciled chiefs paid a visit to Bedar Shah in company. On the 14th, parties of Mahratta horse made their

appearance in the suburbs, and Ismael Beg is supposed to be secretly in treaty with their general Rana Khan, for the surrender of Gholaum Caudir, but procrastinates, that he may obtain as large a division of the plunder as possible. On the 18th, the Mharattas approach nearer, intercept a large convoy from Ghoseghur, and, in defending it, many Rohillas are cut to pieces, or drowned in the river. Even in this extremity, unsatiated with blood and plunder, and presuming on the superior strength of the combined armies to that of the Mahratta chief, the Rohilla continued his cruelties and spoliation in the palace, where several ladies expired with famine, and Shah Aulum, in his deplorable situation, was still denied bread for himself and his distracted family. So infatuated was this monster of depravity, that while the royal family were perishing with hunger around him, he would make sumptuous banquets in the Lion Tower, carouze all night with his officers, and in the wanton excess of his intoxication would send for the young princes, to sing and play before him, excusing his conduct by observing that they were the offspring of *singers*. The Mahrattas, in the mean time are making still nearer advances towards the city, which they almost surround, and cut off all supplies from it. With the Rohillas they have frequent skirmishes; but the grand attack is delayed till re-inforcements from Deccan, daily expected, shall have arrived. The Rohilla chiefs, avaricious as their leader, now began to mutiny for want of pay: Gholaum Caudir, advancing to appease them, one of the mutineers, drawing his dagger attempted to stab him, but was prevented by his companions. They were at length appeased by his promise of advancing them two months pay immediately.

In the beginning of September, intelligence of the rapid approach of the great body of the Mahratta army induced the

Rohilla seriously to think of quitting Delhi. With this view, part of his army on the 7th of that month crossed the river, on which the Mahrattas, unable to cope with them, retreated to some distance. He had before seized upon all the elephants and horses of the royal stables, together with their accoutrements, and he now divided the royal tents and field equipage among his needy retainers. The plunder of the palace had been all previously packed up in boats, and carried off: it was doubtless the hopes of eventually sharing in this plunder that kept his numerous army so compactly together. On the 14th, having received certain information that Ismael Beg had joined the Mahrattas, and was seeking an opportunity to deliver him up to Rana Khan, the terror-struck Rohilla on a sudden left the palace, and crossing the Jumna on his elephant joined his army, incamped on the opposite bank. In a few days however he returned to that scene of his brutal devastations; and suspecting Shah Aulum of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, grossly abused, and with his own hands severely beat that blind and aged monarch; declaring that he would take the whole of his children with him, and that if he were defeated, he would put them all to instant death. He then forced them all into a boat, except Akber, who making some resistance, he was about to cut him down with his scymitar, when that spirited prince was also obliged to submit. With these he compelled the treacheous Nazir, and the aged princesses so often mentioned, to embark, that he might have under his control the whole royal family, and having evacuated the citadel he set fire to all the combustible parts of it; an act of savage atrocity worthy of his preceding conduct! The flames were extinguished, and the city and palace immediately taken possession of by the Mahratta chief, who released Shah Aulum from his confinement, and humanely ordered refreshments to be

served up to himself and the numerous persons of the haram, who for seven previous days had subsisted only on dry grain and water.

The reinforcement, so long expected by the Mahratta general, having at length arrived, Rana Khan lost no time in crossing the Jumna with his whole army, in order to attack Gholaum Caudir, and recover from his grasp the royal victims. That traitor, unable to withstand so formidable an army, immediately retreated towards his own country, but was pursued with such vigour and celerity that he was compelled to take refuge in the town of Mhirta, where he offered terms of submission as humiliating as his prior conduct had been haughty and arrogant; they were rejected by the Mahratta with indignation, and on the 21st of December a general assault was made on the place. The Rohilla and his troops defended the fort for a whole day with determined bravery; but seeing no prospect of final success, and justly dreading the vengeance that awaited him, Gholaum mounted a fleet horse, and having first carefully packed up the finest jewels obtained in the plunder of the palace in the saddle and howsings, made his escape in the dead of the following night. He had not advanced many miles when his horse fell with him, and he was so severly bruised by the fall that he lay on the ground unable to move; while the horse, recovering himself, galloped away with the treasures of Delhi, and was never after heard of. In this situation the inhabitants of a neighbouring village at day-break discovered the prostrate chief, and carried him prisoner to the Mahratta camp. Deserted by their commander, the Rohilla garrison at Mhirta on the following day surrendered at discretion. The princes of the royal family, as well as the aged princesses, were liberated by Rana Khan, treated with the greatest respect, and sent back to Delhi with

a proper guard for their protection, while the perfidious Nazir was thrown into irons, and reserved for condign punishment. Gholam Caudir too, when he arrived in the camp, was heavily loaded with irons, and, being placed in an iron cage, was kept for some time suspended in the front of the army to be gazed at as a monster of vice and unparalleled barbarity. Soon after, upon Scindiah's joining the army, by his orders the former was trodden to death by elephants; and the latter, having first had his nose and ears, and then his hands and feet, cut off, in this mutilated condition was sent to Shah Aulum at Delhi; but the miserable wretch died while conveying thither.

Scindiah, in the mean time, rapidly pursuing his career of victory, soon arrived in the country of the deceased rebel, where his discomfited army, unable to make any effectual opposition, fled in every direction before him. He soon became possessed of Ghoseghur, and all the inferior forts in that district, and added those territories to his own extensive domains in the Dooab. Having left a strong Mahratta force in his new conquests, he then marched to Delhi, where, sending Bedar Shah back to his ancient state-prison of Selim-Ghur, he, with great pomp, once more raised the blind debilitated monarch to the musnud, and had coins again struck in his name. But, notwithstanding these pompous ceremonies, which, like many other transactions of recent date, by the usurpers of the supreme authority at Delhi, can only be regarded as a solemn mockery of fallen majesty, since by the ancient laws both of Persia and India, a prince deprived of sight can never legally wield the imperial sceptre, I consider the *reign of Shah Aulum as terminated*, and the INDIAN EMPIRE itself, of which I have attempted, however inadequately, to give the General History, as no longer existing. From this period I consider the glorious SUN of Timur, which had for so

many ages illumined India, as set for ever! A dark and deeply ensanguined cloud had long hovered over the metropolis, and, at length, bursting upon the imperial palace, overwhelmed the last miserable sceptred descendant of that mighty race.

The most exalted state of human grandeur, whether enjoyed by kingdoms or dynasties, has its allotted period; and what more proper period can be assigned by the historian to the Indian Empire and the dynasty of Timur, than that in which all authority in the Supreme Head became annihilated, and all subordination in its dependent branches destroyed? That mighty empire, which, under Aurungzeb, reached from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude, and produced a revenue exceeding thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, was now reduced (hear it, indignant Shade of Akber!) to a ruinated city, and a scanty district around it, with only a few eleemosynary lacks of rupees, allowed for the subsistence of that Head by a vassal chief, belonging to a nation ever among the bitterest enemies of his family! It is high time to draw the curtain over such melancholy scenes, as those which have darkened the concluding pages of this volume; and we take leave of that potent dynasty that once made the proudest thrones of Asia tremble, with mingled sensations of admiration and pity; with admiration of their heroic virtues, and pity for their unparalleled misfortunes.

END OF THE MOGUL HISTORY.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING PORTION.

ADVERTISEMENT.

At the conclusion of Chapter V. on the European settlers in India, in the preceding volume, the subjoined paragraph occurs.

"Having now brought the History of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next Book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue, the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional Book, the History of the European Establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided."

The first of these promises has, it is hoped, been fulfilled to the reader's entire satisfaction, since, in fact, the Mogul History has been brought nearly thirty years lower down than the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, which took place in A. D. 1761. The latter promise it is found utterly impossible to fulfil in the extent desired, not only from the immense field to be traversed, and the magnitude and infinite variety of the events, the details of which, on the most limited scale, it is calculated would occupy two large additional volumes; but from the proximity of the period, a period of fierce debate and high political contention to that in which we live, rendered too

delicate to be entered upon; many of the principal actors in those turbulent scenes being still living, and the embers of contention and jealousy scarcely yet extinguished. After an immense labour and expence incurred in procuring the books and pamphlets requisite, most of them, unhappily, too strongly marked by the prevailing passions and prejudices of the times in which they were composed, to be perused without the most guarded caution, the project is for the present laid aside.

It has, however, been thought proper to wind up this part of the work by presenting the reader with an Additional Chapter, in which the long and ardent contests of the English and French nations on the Coast of Coromandel were brought to a final termination by the destruction of Pondicherry, and the expulsion of the French from India, in 1761, at the close of which year not a flag of that nation was seen flying on any fortress along the whole of its extensive coast. It seemed also necessary to bring down the English affairs in Bengal, which by the Shah Zaddah's irruption in 1759, began to be intimately blended with those of the empire, to the important period in which they obtained from the same prince, afterwards emperor, the office of DEWANNY, or collection of the revenues (dated 12th of August, 1765), in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which elevated them from a chartered body of merchants to the rank of sovereign princes.

With respect to the Powers among whom India is at present divided, the elegant coloured Map of India, engraved by Arrowsmith expressly for this work, will in that respect be a surer guide to the reader than any more elaborate description which it might be in the power of the Author to furnish.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

Affairs of BOMBAY.—*The Pirate* ANGRIA *defeated and his Forts demolished; first, under Commodore James, and finally, under Admiral Watson, and Colonel Clive.—Affairs on the Coromandel Coast.—Count Lally arrives at Pondicherry with powerful reinforcements from France.—Immediately marches against Fort St. David's.—Attacks, takes, and completely demolishes that city.—Inflamed with this success he leads his army against Madras.—His partial success.—The siege raised by the arrival in Madras-roads of a fleet and army from England.—Disgraceful retreat of the French to Pondicherry.—Thus reinforced, early in* 1758 *the English take the field.—Battle of Wandewash.—Their signal successes by land and sea.—With their united forces they besiege, and take Pondicherry; which fine city they demolish in revenge for the demolition of Fort St. David's, and thus put a period for the present to the French power and consequence in India.—Affairs in* BENGAL.—*The* SHAH ZADDAH *invades* BENGAL; *repulsed by Clive.—Jaffier deposed; Cossim raised to the Nabobship.—On Cossim's flagrant abuse of the power intrusted to him, Jaffier replaced on the Musnud.—War with Cossim, who cruelly murders in cold blood* 200 *English gentlemen at Patna.—War with the Nabob Vizier, supported by the new Emperor.—Defeated in every action with the English army, both eventually submit and throw themselves on the protection of the English.—The Nabob Vizier restored to his dominions in* OUDE.—*The Emperor issues a firmaun, granting to the English the office of* DUANNY *of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.—That firmaun the basis of their future greatness and unrivalled prosperity.*

Engaged in detailing and bringing to a conclusion the more splendid and interesting events that occurred in Bengal under Clive and Watson, we neglected to notice in its proper place the important service rendered to the Company's affairs on the Malabar coast and at Bombay, by the spirited and successful attack of the fleet under Commodore James and Admiral Watson, on the usurped maritime domains of the renowned pirate Angria. It forms too important a feature in the history of that settlement to be omitted, and is in substance as follows.

In the infancy of the Mahratta government, a daring individual of that tribe, grandson of Sevajee, named Conajee Angria, had been employed by the Saho Rajah* as an admiral in the defence of that coast against the incursions of the Siddee, or Mogul admiral. The most signal success had crowned the naval efforts of this man, and inflamed by that success, he aspired to independence of the power that made him. In pursuance of this plan he seized upon all the strong forts on that range of coast, and by the aid of European engineers rendered them impregnable against any attacks of the native powers, Mahratta or Mogul. Issuing from these rocky recesses, these maritime retreats formed by the indenture of the coasts, in vessels of peculiar construction, called grabs, strongly built, and skilfully managed, himself and his descendants, all bearing the name of Angria, had now for half a century carried on a predatory war not only against the Mohammedan powers who traded to and from India, but even against the more formidable states of Europe; capturing ships of great burthen and wealth, and often, through their number and valour, victorious over their ships of war. All nations had suffered by these depredations, but the English more severely

* See an account of the Saho Rājah in vol. ii. p. 236.

than others. To repress the insolence of these marine adventurers the presidency of Bombay had been put to an enormous expence in fitting out various expeditions, and in keeping up a constant naval force for the protection of their valuable commerce. Most of those expeditions had totally failed, and it was not until Commodore James was appointed to that station, and sent on that service, in 1755, that any impression was made on the barbarous but wary enemy. James had indeed with only four ships attacked some of the minor forts on the coast with vigour and success, and had even laid the stronger one of Severndroog in ruins; but still the business was only half done. The arrival in those seas, about this time, of Admiral Watson, with a more powerful fleet from England, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for following up the blow and completing the long meditated conquest. After due consultation, therefore, with the admiral, it was resolved by that presidency to attempt the extermination of this race of piratical marauders.

The principal fortress of Angria, and capital of all his dominions, was named Gheria, situated on a rocky promontory about a mile and a quarter long, and at the entrance of a spacious harbour, which forms the mouth of a river descending from the Balagaut mountains. The rock on which Gheria stood, rose fifty feet in perpendicular height above the level of the water, and the fortifications erected upon it consisted of a double wall with round towers, and were of proportionate thickness and elevation; many of the massy stones of which they were composed being ten feet long, and as many broad. In short, no expence or labour had been spared to render this place impregnable; for it was the depositary of all his treasures, and the grand arsenal of all his naval stores. Adjoining the harbour were extensive docks for ship-building, and opposite to them, at this time, were lying ten

of the strongest of his grabs, fastened together in such a manner that if one should take fire, all the others must inevitably be consumed with it.

So many formidable accounts of this fortress had reached Bombay, representing it as absolutely impregnable; a little Gibraltar situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea; that it was resolved in council there to send vessels to reconnoitre it: and he whose daring naval efforts had caused the enemy most annoyance, the commodore himself, was immediately dispatched in the Protector of 44 guns, assisted by two other ships, on that arduous service. After having run considerable danger by approaching within cannon shot of the fort, that intrepid officer returned in December with a more accurate account of Gheria, which he acknowledged to be a place of prodigious strength both by nature and art, but neither inaccessible, nor impregnable.

As Angria was in equal hostility with the Mahratta as with the English government, an invitation was sent, as had been sent before, to the chiefs of that nation to join in the expedition against their common enemy, and recommending a vigorous attack upon him from the land side, while the English fleet battered the fortifications, and attacked his fleet in front. The proposal was acceded to with readiness, and at length, the preparations being complete, on the 11th of February, 1756, Admiral Watson, assisted by the patriotic zeal and tried abilities of Commodore James, with a fleet of nine sail, four of which were of the line, accompanied by five bomb-vessels, appeared before Gheria. On board this fleet, beside marines, was a battalion of 800 Europeans, together with 1000 sepoys, under the command of Clive. A large army of Mahrattas, under Ramajee Punt, had also marched from Choul to invest the place by land, and, thus blockaded on every side, the dreadful conflict commenced.

After the usual but ineffectual ceremony of summoning the fort to surrender, the fleet entered the harbour in two divisions, parallel to each other, and, anchoring on the north side of the fortifications, at the distance of 50 yards, began to batter them with 150 pieces of cannon, while from the bomb-vessels an infinite number of shells was at the same time discharged, some of which falling into the grabs, moored together as above described, set them on fire, and in a short time the whole were consumed. The besieged in the mean time were not idle, but kept up an incessant fire on their assailants, from near 200 cannon: being ill-directed, however, no great injury was done to the shipping; whereas, on the part of the English, every shot took effect, and before sunset the guns of the fort were entirely silenced. Angria predicting his fate, and detesting the English, had fled to the Mahratta camp, in hopes by large bribes of purchasing his peace with that venal nation. Anxious to get possession of his riches, to the exclusion of the English, they obtained an order from him to his brother, whom he had left chief in command, to deliver up the keys of the fort to the former only, and to resist the English to the last. Apprized by a deserter of these clandestine proceedings, Admiral Watson re-commenced the attack with redoubled vigour, to prevent their insidious allies accomplishing their designs, and Colonel Clive, landing in the night with his whole force, contrived to get between them and the fort. With the dawn the summons to surrender was renewed, together with the menace that if the fort were not delivered up in an hour, it would be stormed, and no quarter given. This peremptory requisition being followed up by a cannonade still more terrible than the former, had the desired effect, and in a short time the garrison surrendered. Colonel Clive, with his battalion, immediately took possession of the fort with all that it contained, which in military

and naval stores, and valuable effects of every kind, was of immense amount, besides a large sum in money, which was distributed without reserve among the brave captors. The other forts in the usurped marine domains of Angria being afterwards assailed by the allied powers, were successively taken possession of; and thus in one month a formidable enemy that for 50 years had ravaged the coast, and annoyed the fleets of all nations, was not only crushed but in a manner annihilated.*

AFFAIRS OF COROMANDEL.

In a preceding page we stated that the deputation sent from Bengal, in 1756, to solicit relief from Madras, found that presidency occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans into Deccan to aid Salabad Jing † in getting rid of M. Bussy and the French, who completely tyrannized over him and his whole court. The destination of that force, together with 600 Europeans, and 1500 sepoys in addition, immediately ordered for Bengal, left Fort St. George so destitute of troops that nothing could be attempted for the Soubah, while the presidency itself remained exposed to an immediate attack from the French of Pondicherry, should they be tempted to violate the conditional treaty, or rather the suspension of arms, so lately only agreed upon. The presidency therefore, in order to fortify the seat of government, without delay from all the inferior dependencies in the Carnatic, called in as great a number of troops as could be spared from the indispensible duty of their respective garrisons, and, even with this additional aid, its security appeared to be at best very precarious.

With respect to affairs in the Deccan, the contention between

* Orme, Vol. I. p. 417. Cambridge, p. 129.

† See of the preceding volume page 355.

Salabad Jing, or rather between his ministers and M. Bussy, having arisen to a great height, the latter, at the peremptory command of the Soubah, left his camp, with all his troops, and after a long and toilsome march of nearly 300 miles, conducted with great ability through an enemy's country, arrived in safety at Hydrabad, where he strongly fortified himself. At this place he continued till he was re-inforced by a detachment of 400 men, which, at his request, had been sent from Pondicherry to Masulipatam, the nearest French settlement, whence they had rapidly advanced to join him, a distance of 200 miles, and had, in their march, encountered difficulties, little inferior to his own. With this additional force he was enabled to establish himself in what are called the northern Circars, a portion of the maritime part of Deccan, which in a preceding page we observed were ceded to the French by Salabad Jing, in reward for their assistance in exalting him to the musnud, and the revenues of which are stated by Mr. Orme as amounting to half a million sterling.* He was also enabled to carry on a vigorous and successful war with the refractory Rajahs, or Zemindars in that region of the peninsula, and finally to awe the Soubah himself and his ministers into peace and submission. Having obtained this distinguished success over both the native and the Mogul forces, and having gained some intelligence of the intention of the Council of Madras to send succours to the Soubah, he now fell with fury on the English settlements in that part of the peninsula, and was crowned with success equally brilliant. Among inferior factories in its vicinity, the more important one of Vizigapatam was after a short investment reduced, and by its capture the French became masters of that whole coast from Ganjam to Masulipatam.† This was precisely the period of the proudest triumph of the French arms in India;

* Orme, Vol. I. p. 335. † Cambridge, p. 137.

how rapid and dreadful a change in their affairs afterwards took place will be demonstrated in no very distant page.

War being declared about this time between the two countries, in 1756 a powerful fleet was with the utmost expedition, for its magnitude, dispatched in the following year from France to India, containing an armament far more formidable, and better appointed than ever had been transported thither in one fleet. The fleet consisted of twelve ships of different rates, commanded by M. d'Achè; the land forces by General Count Lally, a man haughty and daring as Dupleix himself, and armed with unlimited powers to drive the detested English from all their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and retaliate on their towns the unsparing vengeance poured out on Chandernagore. His orders were immediately on his arrival, which, however, owing to a most disastrous voyage did not take place until the end of April, 1758, to commence the siege of Fort St. David; and in fact the very night of his landing, 1000 Europeans, together with as many sepoys, commanded by Count D'Estaign, were seen in full march to attack that fort preparatory to the bolder meditated attempt on Madras.

Lally quickly followed at the head of all the force that could be drawn together for the attack on Fort St. David, and, before it, was soon collected an army amounting to 2500 French, the most formidable body of Europeans that India had ever seen assembled, with nearly as many sepoys, and a proportionate train of artillery. Colonel Polier commanded in the fort, and is thought not to have made all the resistance for which he was provided with the means; for though the enemy's cannon, which played furiously and incessantly, had before he surrendered very much damaged the works, no practicable breach had been made. The garrison, however, scarcely 300 in number, were utterly inade-

quate to its defence, the tanks or reservoirs having been injured by the bombardment, so that little water was to be had, and the ammunition was almost expended. The fort capitulated on the 1st of June, 1758. The garrison were made prisoners of war; nor could the most earnest solicitations of the commander and the governor carry the proposal that the fortifications should not be demolished during the war.

A court of enquiry was afterwards instituted at Madras, in which Major Polier's personal bravery was highly commended, but the early surrender, and the conditions, were reprobated in the most unqualified terms. The garrison were sent to Pondicherry, there to remain until their release could be effected by the delivery of an equal number of French prisoners. In strict conformity to the decided resolution formed at the court of Versailles of exterminating the English, and levelling their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, Count Lally now proceeded to the utter demolition of the works of Fort St. David. The whole were blown up and reduced to a heap of ruins. The revengeful spirit of French hostility did more than this; it led him to destroy many beautiful villas of the English in that quarter, and many handsome public structures that adorned the face of the country.

The English at Madras now became justly and deeply alarmed. They saw the storm that had ruined St. David's rolling towards St. George, and ready to burst upon the citadel. They immediately called in all the remaining troops in the garrisons of the different factories in the Carnatic; and proceeded with vigour and celerity to make the necessary arrangements for sustaining an attack which was to decide the fate of the British capital in Coromandel.

I forbear to follow M. Lally through his rapid and varied

career of victories in the Carnatic, while Madras remained without adequate resources to obstruct his progress. I forbear to notice, as irrelevant, the everlasting contests in which his haughty intractable spirit, born to control rather than to submit, involved him with M. Deleyrit, the civil governor, and the council of Pondicherry, who seem to have thwarted him in all the great designs which he had formed for the aggrandizement of his country in India, and to have locked against him the Company's treasury, which contained the sinews of war. My concern is only with the great features of his administration, and, therefore, passing by minor intervening incidents, let us attend him on his march to invest Fort St. George, flushed with his triumph over St. David's, and confident that *that* imperial settlement would experience a similar catastrophe.

Early in December 1758 the grand French army, augmented by large detachments from all their settlements in that region of India were seen advancing to the attack. Their number amounted to 3500 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and as many horse. The English force, in like manner augmented, consisted of 1750 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys: and of this force a considerable proportion, under the command of Colonel Lawrence, had encamped on an eminence, called St. Thomas's mount, distant about nine miles from Madras. It is thus denominated from an ancient tradition, that the apostle St. Thomas had preached the gospel to the Indians on that spot. It is justly esteemed for the goodness of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation, on which account a number of villas have been built on the scite by the gentlemen of Madras, surrounded with beautiful gardens and plantations. As it was not the intention of the Colonel to risque an engagement with such an inferior force, especially when a defeat would inevitably be attended with the loss of Madras, on

the approach of the enemy he gradually drew off his battalions from the mount, and encamped nearer the town, on what is called the Choultry plain. The following day Lally encamped on the deserted mount, and on the 12th of December himself advanced to the Choultry plain. The English army, after about two hours cannonading, retired into the fort; and that evening the enemy encamped on the very spot which they had abandoned. At the same time their advanced guard took possession of the garden-house, and the neighbouring village, in order to invest the town

Early in the morning of the 14th of December, M. Lally marched in two columns to attack, and take possession of the Black Town, whose large extent made it impossible for the small force of the English to dispute it with the enemy. An immense multitude of black people, principally women and children, with frantic cries and gestures, now crowded towards the fort claiming protection, and imploring admission within the walls; but this favour could not be granted, and they were advised under the cover of the night, to disperse themselves over the country. While however the enemy were engaged in plundering the Black Town, and many of them were intoxicated with the arrack found in considerable quantities in its warehouses, a vigorous and unexpected sally was made by Colonel Draper, at the head of 500 men, which spread confusion and dismay through their ranks, and put the greatest part of them to precipitate flight. Being at length rallied by their officers, a severe but short conflict took place, in which the enemy lost in killed and wounded thirty officers and nearly 300 men; the loss of the garrison too was serious, being altogether nine officers, and 200 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. This daring enterprize convinced M. Lally that he had now to contend with a very

different description of men from those who had behaved so ignobly at Fort St. David's.

Immediately after, the French began to prepare their batteries, and other necessary works for the close investment of the fort. The artillery, however, which they had embarked for the siege was still at a distance on the seas, impeded by contrary winds; on the 22d a great part of it arrived in the Harlem, and on the 2d of January, 1759, at break of day, a tremendous bombardment commenced from the principal batteries, which was answered with great spirit from the fort, both with shells and shot, and the contest was continued until seven at night, with little injury to the town, and with less to the besieged. The attack was resumed on the 6th and 7th with increased vigour on the part of the enemy; but by the strenuous exertions of Mr. Call, the chief engineer, their fire was as vigorously retorted, and the damage sustained rapidly repaired. As that gentleman's regular journal of the siege is published, and may be consulted in Mr. Cambridge's work, I must refer the reader for more particular details to his authentic page. To military men they are alone important, and they are both there, and in Mr. Orme, accompanied with draughts and plans which render them perfectly intelligible. It is sufficient for these pages to record that after a severe blockade, which commenced on the 12th of December, 1758, and concluded on the 17th of February, 1759, during which interval all the energies of united skill and valour were exerted on both sides, this memorable siege terminated by the appearance of an English fleet of six sail in the road of Madras, and bringing to its aid a detachment of 600 Europeans, with a proportionate quantity of money, stores, and ammunition. The latter, however, though welcome, was not materially wanted, owing to the provident care of Mr. Pigot, the governor, who both before and during the

siege had unceasingly performed all the various duties of his arduous situation.*

This long-expected fleet was first descried approaching the road, about 5 o'clock on the evening of the 16th of February, but it was near ten before, directed by lights held out in the fort, they cast anchor in the road. Consequently, on such a coast, no debarkation could take place until the following morning; a circumstance that might have been, but fortunately was not, attended with very serious consequences to the besieged. Lally had arrogantly declared that he never would relinquish the enterprize until he had tried the success of a general assault, and it was firmly expected by the garrison that it would take place that very night, before the reinforcement could be landed. Every man, therefore, capable of bearing arms, was ready at his post, and a continued increasing fire, kept up on both sides during the greater part of the night, seemed the prelude to the dreadful affray. Soon after two in the morning, however, that of the enemy began visibly to slacken, and at three it entirely ceased; nor could the motions of troops be any longer distinguished in their lines. The blaze of fires, however, in their trenches, and large piles of wood in flames were plainly perceived, as if to guide a retreating foe; and in fact at day-break the whole army was discovered at some distance, in full march towards St. Thomas's mount, on their return to Pondicherry. The hurry and confusion with which they raised the siege were evident in their leaving behind them a vast quantity of stores, above 40 pieces of heavy cannon, and their sick and wounded in the hospital, recommended in a letter by Lally to the humanity of the English governor, which was exerted in their favour. The loss during

* Orme, Vol. III. p. 455, and Cambridge, p. 204, where see the journal of the siege.

the whole siege amounted in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, to 33 officers, and, of rank and file in the battalions of Europeans, 559; of the sepoys, lascars, and others, including deserters, nearly 700, no inconsiderable proportion of the whole garrison! The loss of the French in these respects was never exactly ascertained.*

Shortly after the English army took the field under Major Brereton. The great commercial towns of Conjeveram and Masulipatam were successively taken possession of by himself and Major Ford, so that the French trade on that extensive coast, abounding in population and rich in manufactures, was soon almost confined to Pondicherry. Near the close of 1759 Colonel Coote invested and took Wandewash, which in the following year roused the utmost exertions of General Lally to recover it. The army he collected for this purpose amounted to above 2000 Europeans, together with treble the number of black troops, and at the head of these he pushed forward the siege with the utmost vigour. He had even proceeded so far as to make a practicable breach in the walls, when Colonel Coote appeared before Wandewash with an army of 1900 Europeans and about 3000 sepoys. After an obstinate and bloody engagement, fought on both sides with a bravery which the importance of the place inspired, Lally was completely defeated and fled, leaving above a thousand killed and wounded on the field of battle. He retired with the remainder of his routed troops to Pondicherry. The English, according to Mr. Orme, lost only 200 in killed and wounded, but the death of the gallant Brereton threw a shade over the triumph of victory.† This important victory was rapidly followed up by the siege and capture of Arcot, the capital of the province. At sea the efforts of the

* Ibid. † Orme, Vol. III. p. 589.

brave Admiral Pocock were distinguished by no less brilliant success. With eight ships only he attacked and defeated the French fleet of double that number, and compelled them to take shelter under the cannon of Pondicherry. After the capture of Carical and one or two other fortresses in the neighbourhood, which rapidly followed, that city soon became their only remaining port in that part of India, and it was determined immediately to invest it with all our forces by sea and land.

That magnificent city, upon which such immense sums had been lavished by the French, extended along the coast about a mile and a quarter, and was about three quarters of a mile in breadth. It was at this period considered as the finest city, and the best fortified, of any in India. The palace erected for the residence of its ostentatious viceroys, its noble citadel, its vast magazines, its beautiful bazar, its lofty gates, and walls flanked with bastions, eleven in number, and mounted with 500 pieces of cannon, rendered it worthy to be called the metropolis of a great nation. On the land side it was inclosed, as many cities in India are, about a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes, prickly pears, and other thorny plants, called the *Bound-hedge*, intermixed with great numbers of cocoa-nut and palm-trees, altogether forming a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry. This *Bound-hedge* was farther strengthened by five redoubts commanding the five roads that led into the town. To enter into the particulars of this famous siege, or rather blockade, so well and so minutely detailed by Mr. Orme, is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that after the bravest possible exertions for a period of seven months on the part of the besieged, their supplies being entirely cut off, so that provisions for only ten days more remained for the support of 2000 persons, of which the garrison consisted, the haughty

Lally consented, without any conditions, to surrender the city. As the extirpation of the English from the maritime coast of India had been the avowed object of the French councils, and of all the governors down to Lally, evidenced in the utter destruction of Fort St. David's by the latter, a rigid retaliation was on this occasion adopted; and the extensive fortifications, together with all the noble public and private buildings of Pondicherry were in a few months with much labour demolished, and the French capital of India for ever bowed the head. This important, this memorable event took place on the 16th of January, 1761. The fate of the brave but impetuous and unfortunate Lally ought not to be omitted. On his return to France, his numerous enemies prevailing, he was tried and convicted of having betrayed the interests of his country, and the East-India Company, and beheaded in the 65th year of his age; a sentence which he bore with a firmness only to be paralleled by the black ingratitude that pronounced it.

With the towers of Pondicherry fell the once colossal power of the French on the continent of India. Thiagar surrendered at discretion in February; and the strong fortress of Gingee soon afterwards capitulated to Captain Smith, with only the honours of war allowed to its brave garrison. Thus finally terminated a war which had continued to rage, between the English and French, on the coast of Coromandel, with little intermission during fifteen years. In Bengal also we have seen their commerce and their government were alike annihilated. A few daring adventurers, however, retired to Mysore, where they were received with rapture by Hyder, who had recently usurped its sceptre, had publicly sworn the destruction of the English, and was secretly meditating the accomplishment of his oath. But here a vast field, and new prospects of almost

unbounded extent begin to expand to the view of the historian. That field too has been already beaten by able and patriotic writers, who are well known, and may be readily consulted. Having now gradually traced the progress, in commerce and in conquests, of the different European nations, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and French on the desolated shores of India, during a period of above 260 years, that is from the landing of the immortal Gama at Calicut, in A. D. 1498, down to the uncontrolled establishment of the English power on those shores by the destruction of Pondicherry in A. D. 1761, I trust I may retreat with honour from that field, and leave its future history to be recorded by the pen of others.

Previously, however, to finally quitting it, the intimate connection which affairs in the Company's principal settlement have with the preceding Mogul history, renders it necessary to take a last view of

TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

in which province, and Bahar, it has before been observed, the fugitive prince, Ali Gohar, had, in 1758 and 1759, attempted to raise contributions and make conquests.* In this enterprize he was zealously assisted by Mr. Law, at the head of a French corps who had made their escape from Chandernagore, and had been permitted by the late Nabob to reside for some time on the northern frontiers of the provinces, but who afterwards was compelled to remove to Chitterpoor, as well as by several turbulent and disaffected Rajahs and Zemindars, who fighting under the royal banners hoped to obtain high distinction, and no small plunder. Among the latter, beside Mahommed Kuli Khan, Subahdar of Allahabad, who had given him protection at his capital, were Sunder Sing and Bulwant Sing, of Benares, and

* See page 591, preceding.

some partial success at first attended their arms; but Colonel Clive, who at that time commanded in Bengal, rapidly advancing from Moorshedabad together with Meerum, the Nabob's son, at the head of the English army, soon checked their progress, and as we have before seen, drove them back beyond the Carumnassa.

The prince, Hossain asserts, more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering him any terms for the Company, and himself, on condition that the English would quit the Nabob and join his army; but Clive thinking it incompatible with the English treaty with the latter, declined the offer. His proffered services being thus conscientiously rejected, in a few months he returned with a far more formidable force, and armed with all the terror of imperial authority, his father Aulumgeer having been recently assassinated; but he was defeated in various successive conflicts with the English under Colonels Knox and Calliaud, and compelled again disgracefully to cross the Carumnassa. About the same time also the Mahrattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable but unavailing diversion in favour of the prince, for they also were totally discomfited by Colonel Calliaud's troops in conjunction with those of the Nabob. The particulars of these conflicts have in various publications been so amply detailed * to the public, and the result of all the prince's efforts to conquer Bengal and Bahar having been already stated to the reader, I shall not tread back the ground of history minutely to relate them; but, as usual, keep only to its great outlines, and the leading events of the period under consideration. Towards the close of the campaign the Nabob's son was killed in his tent by lightning;

* For these details consult Gholaum Hossain, *passim;* also Holwell's "India Tracts," octavo, 1774, in which are inserted Colonel Calliaud's letters, addressed during the course of the campaign to himself, as governor.

extreme anguish for which event is said by our well informed native historian to have affected the intellects of Jaffier Khan, his father, (although nobody besides himself felt the smallest grief at his death, for he was a young man of the most cruel and profligate character) and to have been, in part, the occasion of that important change in the government, the particulars of which it now becomes necessary to record.*

For a considerable period the internal administration of the province of Bengal had been most wretchedly conducted. Both Jaffier and his son had in their high station been guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and on the slightest occasions had freely used the dagger of assassination. These excessive cruelties, added to the oppressive exactions of the father, had rendered him equally obnoxious, both to the natives and the English. By his indolence too, and the defalcations of a train of worthless favourites, the revenues were become utterly inadequate to the support of the government. The council of Calcutta had long seen and regretted this scandalous deviation, from the line of principle and prudence, in the man whom they had exalted to its musnud. After violent and protracted debates among its members it was at length agreed upon by the majority of the board, to depose Jaffier Khan, and raise to the Nabobship, his son-in-law, that Cossim Ally Khan, of whom, in the preceding portion of Mogul history, we have prematurely been compelled to speak. Colonel Clive, it should be here remarked, after repelling the invasion of the Shah Zadda in the preceding year, had early in the present year (1760) resigned the government of Bengal, and taken his departure for Europe. Mr. Holwell, as oldest in council, succeeded to the presidency, which a few months afterwards he resigned to Mr. Vansittart, appointed to succeed the Colonel from

* Gholaum Hossain p. 399.

Madras. Soon after his arrival, the new governor, and Colonel Calliaud, attended by a body of European troops and some sepoys, towards the close of the year 1760, having arrived at his capital of Moorshedabad, announced to the Nabob the fatal intelligence of his deposition from the musnud, which his crimes had disgraced, and the elevation of his son to those honours having been determined upon at that presidency. Jaffier Khan at first fell into a violent rage, grossly abused the English, and menaced resistance; but his palace being surrounded, and the gates secured, he was compelled to submit. Boats were at hand to convey himself, his domestics, and his property in gold and jewels to a vast amount to Calcutta, which he preferred to a residence at Moorshedabad, where he would be at the mercy of his son-in-law, whom he equally dreaded and detested, and Cossim, amidst the general exultation of the people, was immediately proclaimed his successor.

In Cossim, however, the English government was deeply disappointed. With greater abilities and profounder policy than his predecessor, he pursued with vigour all the obnoxious projects of his father-in-law in respect to the trade of the Company; he greatly, but gradually, increased the numbers of his army, which he armed, clothed, and disciplined after the European manner, and rendered formidable by a well-appointed park of artillery; while, to elude the cautious vigilance and inspection of the English factory and agents of Moorshedabad, he removed the seat of his government from that capital to Mongheer, 200 miles higher up on the Ganges, which he fortified in the strongest manner possible. From this place he issued the severest decrees against both the judicial and commercial claims of the English in Bengal, and reversed all the immunities granted them by his predecessor, and confirmed by himself,

when advanced by them to the musnud. Mr. Vansittart, a just and worthy man, but wanting the spirit and vigour of a Clive, anxious to prevent an open rupture, undertook a journey to Mongheer, where he arrived in November, 1762, and entered into an amicable negociation with the Nabob, which terminated by his consenting to put the Company's commerce under certain restrictions, (Hossain states it to be the payment of *nine* per cent. on articles of commerce) and he issued his orders accordingly, which were immediately circulated with avidity by Cossim through the whole province. But the terms of this treaty were thought disgraceful at Calcutta, and were indignantly annulled by the council. Unwilling, however, to come to extremities with the Nabob, a deputation of gentlemen, with Mr. Amyatt at their head, was, shortly after, dispatched to Mongheer with fresh proposals for an accommodation. In the object of their mission, however, they were completely unsuccessful; and it seemed to be the determination of the tyrant to extirpate both the English and their trade; for on their return to Calcutta, these gentlemen, though furnished by himself with the usual passports granted to persons employed in public embassy, in passing through Moorshedabad, were by his orders, basely fired upon; Mr. Amyatt, and many of them killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

Previously to this catastrophe, it was sufficiently evident that the Nabob was determined on hostilities, and Mr. Amyatt, in consequence, had written to Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, desiring him to be upon his guard against sudden surprise. Mr. Ellis, upon receipt of this intelligence, and in the certainty that a declaration of war would be issued when the deputation reached Calcutta, resolved, when he conceived Mr. Amyatt was arrived within the boundaries of the Company, to be before-hand with the Nabob, and after consulting the military commander, formed the bold

resolution one morning at day-break, when the Mogul guard were mostly off their posts, and not suspecting an attack, with their handful of troops of seizing on the city. Having scaled the walls without much opposition, the little army marched on in two divisions towards the citadel, the garrison of which however resolutely held out, as well as the palace of the governor, in expectation of speedy relief. All the rest of the city was in their possession, but unfortunately, instead of keeping firmly together, the soldiers, allured by the riches of that great city, began to disperse and plunder the bazar and the houses of the opulent inhabitants. This imprudent step totally ruined an enterprize commenced, it must be owned, with more spirit than foresight, for detachments pouring in from all quarters soon overpowered the English, and after a short but brave resistance, they were completely routed, and pursued across the river, where they were all either destroyed or taken prisoners. Among the latter were Mr. Ellis, the chief, Mr. Lushington, and many other gentlemen, very highly esteemed in India, and very respectably connected in England. Inflamed with this temporary triumph, the Nabob immediately issued orders to the officers of the several districts for the indiscriminate slaughter of all Englishmen found in them, and it is possible that the massacre of the deputies at Moorshedabad might be the consequence of those orders; but as EMBASSADORS, in every event of peace, or war, their persons ought to have been considered as *sacred*.

When intelligence of this cruel and daring outrage arrived at Calcutta, the grief of the gentlemen of the council was alone to be equalled by their indignation. They immediately determined on the deposition of Meer Cossim, and a negociation was commenced with Meer Jaffier for his restoration to the musnud, which was speedily terminated by his assenting to all the articles

dictated by them, as the condition of that restoration, except *four;* and those were of such minor importance, that at a future board they agreed to alter them according to his wishes:* he was in consequence of this assent, and a solemn promise to avoid former errors in government, once more proclaimed soubahdar at Calcutta; and on the 17th of July, 1763, attended by Major Adams, and an army small in number, but resolute in mind to revenge the murder of their countrymen, re-ascended the musnud at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of the province. To pass over partial and less important actions, which would necessarily occupy the space destined to events of greater magnitude and moment, the enemy having collected their whole force had encamped on the plain of GERIAH, to attack which the English had to pass a *nulla*, or deep ravine, in the very face of them. That force consisted of twelve battalions of sepoys, regularly disciplined, and fifteen thousand horse, with seventeen pieces of artillery mounted in the English manner, and worked by European cannoneers. Cossim himself dreading the just vengeance of the English for his unparalleled perfidy, should he fall into their hands, was not with his army, but kept at a secure distance at Mongheer, and afterwards removed higher up the Ganges to Patna. The total amount of the British on this occasion did not exceed three thousand men. After an obstinate contest of four hours, in the course of which the English line was for a moment broken in upon, the latter gained a complete victory, and a booty adequate to the magnitude of the royal army. Pursuing their victorious career, they arrived at Mongheer, which the tyrant had made his capital. To this city,

* Consult the treaty, consisting of thirteen articles, in Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 340.

fortified in the best manner the time would admit of, they were obliged to lay a regular siege, and the defence was more than usually vigorous ; at length, however, the assailants having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of 2000 sepoys, after a siege of nine days capitulated. Here the army received the afflicting intelligence that the cruel tyrant had caused to be barbarously murdered the whole of the English prisoners, amounting to nearly two hundred, except Dr. Fullarton, who, in his medical capacity, having been serviceable to himself, and some of the great men of his court, had a few days before been set at liberty.

In fact Cossim had, in a previous letter to Major Adams, announced his determination to exact this diabolical revenge if he advanced with the army to Mongheer. The Major returned him for answer, that if he touched a hair of their heads he should have no mercy from the English, who would pursue him to the utmost extremity of the earth. The prisoners had been committed by Cossim to the care of a renegado French officer, his favourite general, named Sumroo, whose mortal enmity to the English nation seemed to render him the proper instrument of so bloody a deed, the horror of which is increased tenfold by its having been committed under the roof of pretended hospitality. The English gentlemen were invited by this base assassin to a banquet to be served up after the English fashion, for which purpose he had previously borrowed all their knives and forks. On the entrance of messieurs Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, they fell the first victims, being respectively seized by the hair by one ruffian, while another was at hand to cut his throat. Resistance was made, but it was useless, for the English were unarmed except with bottles and plates, the only weapons of offence they could procure, while the murderers rushing in upon them in-

indiscriminately levelled them with their carabines, or cut them down with their sabres; and thus, to use the words of Colonel Fullarton, "they were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces, and then promiscuously thrown into a large well, in the court of the house, which was afterwards filled up."*

Burning with revenge at this intelligence, the army with irresistable impetuosity pressed forward to Patna, where the object of their detestation was supposed to be, which after a resolute defence was taken by storm on the 6th of November, 1763. The Nabob however was too wise and circumspect to trust himself within the walls of any city attacked by the English: he contented himself with hovering near at the head of a select body of cavalry, from which he occasionally sent large detachments to harass the besieging enemy; and when intelligence reached him of its surrender, he retired with precipitation to the banks of the Carumnassa, which he crossed on a bridge of boats, and entered the territories of Sujah Dowlah, towards the close of the year.

The events that follow relative to Cossim's friendly reception at the court of Oude, the vain glory of the Nabob Vizier, the vast preparation for invading Bahar and Bengal, and the fact itself of that invasion by his innumerable, but ill disciplined battalions, together with the battle of Buxar, given in more than usual detail, as being more strictly connected with the Mogul History†—that fatal battle in which 50,000 Indians were opposed to 5000 of the company's troops, of which 1200 only were Europeans, are already before the reader. That decisive action took place, as there stated, in October 1764. No place of consequence now remained to the enemy, but the strong and almost impregnable fortress of Chunar Ghur on the Ganges. That fortress, how-

* Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 376. † See page 598 preceding, et seq.

ever, after a long and obstinate resistance, which the garrison was enabled to make from the many advantages afforded them by its elevated site on a rock, projecting into the river, was at length surrendered by the governor to the English, in January 1765. It has been stated, that the Vizier in his panic, after the above victory of the English fled to Allahabad, another strong fort and city, 70 miles higher up the river, and constructed after the most approved rules of Indian architecture, by Sultan Akber, at the point where the Ganges and Jumna unite their streams. To this place he was pursued by the English general, and Allahabad, however fortified to resist an Indian army, not being able to withstand the battery of English artillery, being quickly taken, he fled for refuge to the Mahratta chief Mulhar Row, by whom he was cordially received, and promised that assistance which he so anxiously solicited. He also dispatched messengers to the Rohilla Afghan chiefs, established on the northern frontier of Oude, imploring their aid to crush the common foe.*

In the meantime his more sagacious minister, Beni Bahadur, despairing of success against a power to whom all opposition seemed unavailing, was endeavouring to open a negociation, by means of a native rajah, high in the confidence of the English, named Chittabray. General Carnac, however, who had now succeeded to the command of the troops, refused to listen to any proposals for peace, without his previously delivering up to the just vengeance of the English, Cossim and his bloody agent, in the massacre of their countrymen at Patna, Sumroo. To these conditions the Vizier would not listen, honourably declaring that he would rather lose his dominions than be guilty of such an act of perfidy, to men who had fled to him for protection in the extremity of distress. To put it out of his power, in

* Hossain, Vol. II. sect. 3. p. 365.

any exigency to act thus treacherously, he immediately released them; and both, it may be here remarked, after a variety of adventures, died miserably.*

Early, too, in the present year, (1765) expired, the victim of age and grief, the Soubahdar himself, Jaffier Khan. Upon his death-bed he had nominated his eldest surviving son Nudjim al Dowlah, then about eighteen years of age, for his successor, and the Council at Calcutta, after due deliberation, confirmed that nomination. Before his elevation to the musnud, however, in several conferences which were holden with him by some of its members, deputed for the purpose to Moorshedabad, the strict line of conduct to be observed by him as Nabob, was pointed out and impressed upon the inexperienced youth. The necessity also of very considerable changes, both in the civil and military departments of the province, was forcibly inculcated, and finally acceded to by the young Nabob, though he struggled hard to retain at the head of affairs the profligate Nundcomar, the favourite, but the venal minister of his father. His intreaties in that respect were of no avail, and a minister of their own choice was appointed to him, to serve at once as the governor of his private, and the guide of his public life. Under these restrictions, which past severe experience seemed to render requisite, he was installed Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and the profound tranquillity enjoyed by those provinces after the submission of the Vizier, during his reign and that of his brother, who rapidly succeeded to his exalted station, evinced the wisdom of those precautions.

On the absolute refusal of the Vizier to accede to the conditions proposed by the English general, the continuance of the war being rendered necessary, the Mahrattas, more faithful

* Hossain, Ibid.

to Sujah, than his allies of the north, who with many professions had made no preparations for the campaign, early in May 1765 took the field. Sujah Doulah had also, by great exertions, and promises of high rewards, assembled together a large proportion of the troops who fled before the enemy at Buxar, but who now united with the martial Mahratta race, thought themselves marching on to certain victory. On receiving intelligence of their approach, General Carnac, without a moment's delay, advanced to meet them. He came up with them at a place called Calpi, where, after a conflict by no means sanguinary or protracted, he entirely routed the combined armies, pursued their flying squadrons in every direction, nor gave over that pursuit until he had compelled the Mahrattas, the more formidable of the two, to recross the Jumna, and retire within their own frontiers.

With respect to Sujah Dowlah himself, again defeated, desponding, his last stake ineffectually hazarded, he retreated with a few faithful bands to Ferukhabad, where Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the chief of that district, advised him in this extremity to throw himself, at once, on the clemency of the English, who were as generous as they were brave, and would not fail to pay every respect to an omrah of his rank and dignity in distress. With this advice, however grating to his feelings as a prince, and degrading to his character as a soldier, after due consideration, he resolved to comply; and, accordingly, the next day set out in his palanquin, with a few unarmed attendants, for the English camp. Informed of his intentions and approach, Carnac, with some of his principal officers, advanced in the front of the camp to receive him. On seeing them, the Vizier alighted from his palanquin, and after mutual salutation, the English general led his noble guest to a tent where a splendid entertainment was prepared, of which the

Vizier cordially partook, and after receiving the most solemn assurances of perfect reconciliation and future friendship, towards evening departed to his own tents, which were pitched at some distance. Impressed with a deep sense of the generosity and frankness of the English, the Vizier soon after repeated his visit, and a treaty between himself and the English was expeditiously drawn up, by which HE was re-instated in the full possession OF ALL HIS DOMINIONS upon the following lenient conditions; that he should pay fifty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification to the English for the expenses of the war, twenty-five lacks in ready money, and the remainder by assignments on the revenues of Oude; that the province of Allahabad should be assigned for the sole use of the Emperor, and its city and fortress be allotted for his residence; that a body of English should be stationed there as a guard to the Emperor's person; and that from the day of its signature, the friends and enemies of the one party should be deemed the friends and enemies of the other, and of course that their armies should be mutually assisting, in case of war and invasion, on the express condition that the party soliciting succour should defray all the charges attendant on the troops sent to his assistance.*

Such were the leading articles of the famous treaty of Allahabad, which was mutually signed and ratified on the spot by the contracting powers, but expressly stated at the time, to be subject to the final determination of Colonel Clive, who, about this time was expected in India to resume the government, with enlarged and almost unlimited powers.

For a considerable time back, indeed, dissensions had arisen to a very great height, both in England and at Calcutta, in respect to many of the transactions, which we have thus rapidly sketched,

* Hossain, sect. xi. p. 371.

dissensions that went almost to shake the existence of the Company; and no man was esteemed better able, from his profound knowledge of Indian affairs, and the concern which he had had in the exaltation of the Company to their present state of opulence and prosperity, to rectify errors, and settle matters on a permanent basis than that great warrior and statesman. Upon that account, powers thus vast and unprecedented were entrusted to him; and whatever objections may, in other respects, be urged against that great man, he certainly in this instance did not abuse them, but acted with equal circumspection and wisdom, and at the same time with a firmness and vigour that entitles him a second time to the splendid denomination of the Saviour of India. On his actual arrival shortly after, Colonel, now Lord Clive, expeditiously hastened to Allahabad, and deing decidedly of opinion, though so victorious a commander, that to extend our conquests beyond certain limits, that is to say, beyond our powers of keeping possession, both in respect to the vast expense incurred, and the number of troops necessary to be maintained for its defence, was inconsistent with sound policy; also esteeming the Vizier's dominions the firmest possible barrier against the incursion of Afghans, Mahrattas, and other barbarous hordes who had so long desolated the northern frontiers, readily consented to ratify the above treaty. Of the fifty lacks stipulated as the price of peace, one half was in a few days paid down in money, and for the security of the remaining portion, jewels of very high value were pledged with the English commanders.

Repeated interchanges of civility and mutual assurances of lasting friendship between the two parties had taken place, and the Vizier, in proof of it having given up the strong fortress of Chunar in exchange for Allahabad, which had been assigned for the residence of the Emperor, the latter set off on his return to his own

dominions; while the former remained at Allahabad to transact the important business of the DEWANNY, which has been detailed in a former page, and by which a chartered body of merchants became, in rank and wealth, equal to sovereign princes. Nor, though the daring rapacity of some individuals, and the unprincipled ambition of others, may, in a few instances, have brought disgrace upon the English character in Asia, have they ever forfeited their title to those distinguished honours; for, making those due allowances which by candour will ever be made for human passion and human frailty, and taking into consideration the magnitude and intricacy of their concerns, it may be truly affirmed that, as a body of men, their conduct has been such, AS REFLECTS CREDIT UPON THEMSELVES, AND DOES HONOUR TO THEIR COUNTRY.

FIRMAUN FROM THE KING SHAH AULUM, GRANTING THE DEWANNY OF BENGAL, BAHAR, AND ORISSA, TO THE COMPANY. DATED AUGUST 12TH, 1765.

AT this happy time, our royal firmaun, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued: that whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the DEWANNY of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1171, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the DEWANNY, which used to be paid to the court; it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees

a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah Bahader, and regularly remit the same to the royal Sircar: and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the DEWANNY, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the DEWANNY, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos,
(the 12th of August, 1765.)

FINIS.

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